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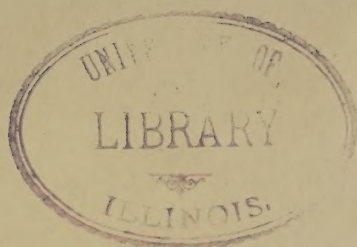
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE II.

BY HUME AND SMOLLETT.

WITH

THE CONTINUATION,
FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

TO THE

ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B. D.

LATE CANON OF PETERBOROUGH.

ALSO

COPIOUS NOTES, THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS,
IMPROVEMENTS, AND ENLARGEMENT.

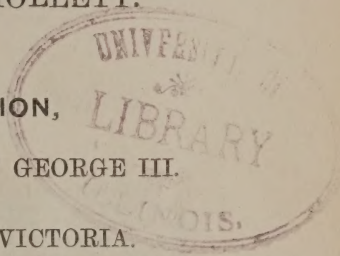
With Historical Illustrations, Autographs, and Portraits.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. XVI.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL, 186 FLEET STREET.

1855.



"Histories," says Lord Bacon, "make wise men:" and in proportion as their minds are influenced by a natural love of their country, so must they feel a desire to become familiar with the most authentic account of its origin, its progress towards civilization, and the circumstances leading to its present importance in the scale of nations.

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OR THE
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CHAPTER LI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1810.

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PARLIAMENT was opened by commission on the twenty-third of January ; and the speech contained little beside notice of the late disasters, and the necessity of granting farther assistance to Spain and Portugal. The motion for an address, which, as usual, afforded an opportunity for young senators to display their oratorical powers, introduced Mr. Peel with advantage to the house of commons, where he seconded it in a very animated speech ; advising its adoption, like other speakers on the ministerial side, because it called for no approbation of what had passed, and opposed no impediment in the way of inquiry. After entering into a very encouraging detail of the internal prosperity of the country, he alluded to the aggression, usurpation, and tyranny of Bonaparte, as points generally acknowledged ; but to resist him effectually, we ought to be unanimous : every heart and hand should join to strengthen the common cause. An amendment was proposed by lord Gower, and seconded by the honorable J. W. Ward, in which the conduct of ministers in the Spanish war and the late expedition was severely censured, and their incapacity clearly exposed. Lord Kensington recommended a dutiful address to the throne, desiring inquiry, but deprecating all expressions that might appear to prejudice the conduct of administration ; on which, Mr. Ponsonby observed, ‘ that the amendment did not criminate any particular person ; its only object was to inform his majesty, that the house, feeling deeply the disgraceful calamity of the last campaign, was resolved to inquire into its causes, and to punish the authors. During the late campaign in Spain, Bonaparte had quitted that country ; and it was known to ministers themselves that Austria had determined to attempt once more to stem the torrent of his ambition : his leaving Spain must have shown them that he considered Austria as his most formidable enemy : they had the best means of information ; and they were enabled to choose the best point for a diversion, that presented itself in favor of either country. If they had chosen such a point, and confined our concentrated forces to one object, they might have effected some grand operation. After all the notorious misconduct of ministers, it was still contended that the house should first inquire, and suspend all definitive judgment till the result of such inquiry was known. What was meant by this ?—That they were to begin by taking those things as problematical, which were universally acknowledged and established ? that they were gravely to inquire, whether the climate of Walcheren was, or was not, unhealthy ? whether the season at which the British

army made its descent on that island was, or was not, unfavorable? whether ministers were, or were not, wholly ignorant of the climate and circumstances of a place within twenty hours' sail of England? Were they also to inquire who was selected to command the greatest expedition that ever left the British shores? was that another of the notorieties, of which it was so necessary to ascertain the truth? Who then was this commander? a general wise from experience, and illustrious from the splendor of many victories? No: the flower of the British troops had been committed, in an evil hour, to the guidance of that inauspicious, ill-omened officer, of whom nothing more was known, than that he was once at the head of the admiralty; and such was his inability to discharge the duties of the department, that the minister had not courage to allow the functions of the state to sleep beneath the indolence even of his own brother: the situation of the country was indeed awful; and if they, whose ignorance and obstinacy had placed it in that situation, were now to be exempted from responsibility, its danger would not, on that account, be less alarming: the present was no time for half-measures or civility; for shaping amendments to the niceties of those gentlemen who revolted at the very idea of punishment; but it was time for the house to put its penal powers into effect, and to pursue with unwearied zeal public defaulters of every description.'

Lord Castlereagh, with unblushing effrontery, said, that being conscious of the wise policy on which the expeditions, which had attracted so much of that day's discussion, were formed, he had more reason to court than to shrink from inquiry; nor did he fear the exercise of that penal justice with which Mr. Ponsonby had threatened him. Canning, though he had no direct share in the advice that sent forth an expedition, which exposed our councils to the derision of Bonaparte and all Europe, yet felt himself to have been, as one of the cabinet ministers, a participator in the disgrace; and accordingly attempted to defend the measure as well as himself: but he totally failed in satisfying the independent portion of the house. Whitbread declared boldly, 'that he looked on Mr. Canning as more responsible than the noble lord himself for the failure of the expedition; having done what, in the history of the country, no other man could be found to have done. The right honorable gentlemen, knowing what the interests of the nation required; aware also of all the measures which were in contemplation, or in progress, and among them of the expedition that government was then preparing; did, on the sixteenth of April,

go and declare to the duke of Portland, that the minister, who had the conduct of this expedition, was not, however estimable he might be for private virtues and good qualities, competent to the duties of his public station: not satisfied with this, for fear of any mistake, he made the same communication to his majesty: but to the noble lord himself he never communicated such an opinion; yet suffered him to originate, and conduct to its close, an expedition which has terminated so disgracefully to the country: he therefore entreated the house to avenge the cause of the public on the ministers who subjected the nation to such a calamity; but more especially on that individual who declared both to the duke of Portland and to the king that the statesman entrusted with its conduct was incompetent to his situation.' Nor was Mr. Canning the only object of the honorable gentleman's censure. It was not without reason that he went on to notice various actions which had lately graced our arms, while they disgraced our cabinet. 'British victories,' he observed, 'were this night especial themes of congratulation: Maida, Corunna, Vimiero, and Talavera were held up as monuments of our eternal glory; but he beheld them only as so many gladiatorial exhibitions; for none of them were happy in their consequences. Maida left the inhabitants at the mercy of a cruel enemy; and at Corunna we lost our general, to prove the valor of our soldiers. What! was our population so redundant that we could spare men to prove what no one doubted? was British valor so questionable that a bloody experiment was necessary to show it? had we so many skilful generals that they were become superfluous? the battle of Vimiero, followed by the disgraceful convention of Cintra, had better never have taken place; and Talavera was, at best, but an exhibition of victorious rashness.' After this, Mr. Whitbread proceeded in a very animated strain to animadvert on the composition of the cabinet; commenting on the rebuff which its director had received from those to whom his first application was made, as well as on its present inefficiency; deserted as it was by two of its leading members, and composed of a motley crew respected by no party; while the tenure by which this incapable junta held their places, lay in the thralldom of millions of their fellow subjects. 'It has been observed by our enemy,' he said, 'that the genius of France guided our armies: alas! it now presides in our cabinet! for, surely, whether we consider their ignorance, their imbecility, their bigotry, or the fate with which Providence visits all their measures, our enemy, had he the nomination, could not select men more suitable to his ends, or more

pernicious to our interests.' Mr. Perceval, who had been accused of remaining obstinately silent under the charges urged against himself and his administration, could not sit still under this vehement attack : his defence however was neither spirited nor satisfactory. Of the transactions that led to the retreat of his two colleagues from the cabinet, he professed his ignorance until the close of the last session of parliament, and then he did not think it expedient to make himself a party in them ; especially as an expedition of great importance was in forwardness, with which the noble lord was intimately connected. With respect to his own place as head of the present administration, he pretended that it was by no means an object of his desire ; instancing the rejected application which had been made to other parties as a proof of his own reluctance to accept it : he then went over the other topics in discussion ; and concluded by defending the indefensible conduct of administration with respect to the late expeditions. The address was carried in favor of ministers by 263 votes against 167 ; and when it was brought up on the twenty-fifth, sir Francis Burdett declared, ' it was with the utmost mortification he perceived, that the unparalleled calamities which we had lately suffered in the waste of blood and treasure, had not made on members of that assembly the impressions which might naturally have been expected : ministers were still supported by the same kind of majorities, which they commanded in times of less disaster : they were still supported by the same men, and the same line of argument ; seeing this, he felt more thoroughly convinced of the necessity of taking into early consideration that great measure which he had recommended at the close of the late session ; *a reform in parliament*. He did not mean to compare the pretensions of one set of public men with those of another ; but he never before witnessed the measures of any set so completely abandoned as in the last debate : the minister really seemed not to have a word to say in his own defence.' The address in the lords was carried by 144 against 92 : and it may be observed, that in both houses the conduct of lord Wellington was very properly kept distinct from that of ministers by those who animadverted most severely on their measures.

On the twenty-sixth, lord Porchester rose in the commons to move for a committee of the whole house, which might inquire into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to Walcheren, by examining oral evidence as well as written documents : the motion was seconded by Mr. Wyndham, and opposed by Mr. Croker, that most alert and uncompromising

of ministerial allies, who moved the previous question: Mr. Perceval also spoke on the same side; but the loudly-expressed indignation of the public had penetrated even into the recesses of St. Stephen's chapel; and the proposition was carried by a majority of 195 against 186. On the first of February, the day before the investigation commenced, Mr. Charles Yorke gave notice, that he should, during its continuance, enforce a standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers: Mr. Sheridan strongly and justly deprecated the idea of conducting so interesting and important an inquiry with closed doors; asking whether it could be endured that the people should be kept completely ignorant of parliamentary proceedings at such an awful moment? a large majority of members, however, decided that the standing order should be observed. A considerable portion of the session was occupied in this investigation; which, while it exposed the ignorance and incapacity of its author, showed that lord Chatham's confused and dilatory operations before Flushing were the more immediate cause of its failure. Both the house and the country read with astonishment the following passage in a despatch sent to him by lord Castlereagh:—'His majesty rejoices that this serious obstacle to the vigorous prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition has been seasonably overcome; and feels persuaded that those important objects will be followed up with the same energy, perseverance, and rapidity, which have hitherto distinguished your lordship's operations!' Among other papers, was a copy of the earl's own statement of his proceedings, presented to the king on the fourteenth of February, 1810. The tenor of this document was to impute blame to the naval part of the armament; and his lordship represented his failure to have arisen, either from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral;¹ or from unavoidable difficulties inherent in the nature of the expedition itself;

¹ 'Nothing,' said lord Eldon, in a letter to his brother of the 4th of October, 'can be worse than the Walcheren business: but that business itself will grow worse and worse. The island must be evacuated; and I think you will soon hear of the army accusing the navy, and the navy accusing the army, as the cause of the failure: there will be warm blood in the two services.'—See *Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 104. In reference to this subject appeared the following squib in the journals of the day:—

The earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn,
Said he was waiting for sir Richard Strachan:
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Said he was waiting for the earl of Chatham.

which, being intirely of a naval nature, did not come within his province. The presentation of such a document to the sovereign by a military commander, without the intervention of any responsible minister, and without the knowlege of the accused party, was pronounced to be a clandestine and unconstitutional attempt to poison the royal ear: a motion was accordingly made by Mr. Whitbread for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of all papers submitted to him by the earl of Chatham concerning the expedition to the Scheldt, might be laid before that house; and this was carried against ministers by a majority of seven: a vote of censure was then proposed by Mr. Whitbread, but amended by Mr. Canning, in which lord Chatham's conduct was pronounced highly reprehensible; and his lordship, to avoid the consequences of an address for his removal, resigned the office of master-general of the ordnance. When the examination of evidence on this ill-fated expedition was concluded, lord Porchester moved two sets of resolutions; to the effect, that the enterprise was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the disease which had proved so fatal was known to be most prevalent; that its advisers were therefore highly reprehensible; and that their conduct, in delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, called for the severest censure. After four nights' debate, there appeared for the first set of these resolutions 227, and against it 275 voices: a decision was called for on a miserable expedient of general Crauford, who proposed an amendment, declaring, that although the house considered with regret the lives which had been lost, it was of opinion that his majesty's ministers had proceeded on good grounds in undertaking the expedition: and this, though substantially at variance with itself, was carried by a majority of forty. The second set of resolutions, censuring ministers for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, was negatived by 275 votes against 224; and a resolution, approving their conduct, in retaining the island till the time when it was abandoned, was carried by 255 against 232: the indignant nation plainly perceived that the house felt unwilling to sanction the disgraceful measures of the principals concerned in this expedition; but that it was too courtly to visit the commander with any severity of punishment, and too slavishly dependent to condemn the acts of a cabinet which did not seem likely to be dissolved: though the culprits therefore escaped, the cause of *parliamentary reform* advanced another step.

The exclusion of strangers during these proceedings, when it would have been more prudent to conciliate than to irritate the public, elicited strong, but well-deserved animadversions from sir Francis Burdett, who observed, 'that the house, in point of character and reputation, had nothing to boast of:' and being called to account by Mr. Perceval for these offensive remarks, he ridiculed that sensitive delicacy, which, while it connived at the most corrupt practices, shrank from a bare mention of the truth. The subject was afterwards selected as a question for dispute by the manager of a debating club, denominated the 'British Forum,' where the conduct of Mr. Yorke was so freely censured, that the foolish pride of that gentleman took fire, and he determined to punish the delinquent: accordingly, on his complaint of a breach of privilege, the conductor of the institution, John Gale Jones, was brought to the bar of the house; and, notwithstanding his acknowledgement of the offence, as well as a respectable apology for it, was committed to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett was not present on this occasion; but when he re-appeared in his seat, he loudly condemned the measure as a violation of the common law of Magna Charta, and of the trial by jury, in a case where the offence was punishable by the ordinary course of justice: he then moved for the immediate discharge of the offender; but the proposal was negatived by 153 against 14: in consequence of this decision, the honorable baronet published a copy of his speech, containing the effusions of his indignation, and accompanied by a letter to his constituents, inveighing with extreme asperity against that domineering spirit of a corrupt assembly, which, while it pretended to represent his majesty's subjects, invaded their rights; and denying the power of the house to imprison the people of England.

In consequence of this attack, the Commons determined to assert their privileges, which, it was said, were within their sole cognisance: as it had been maintained in the case of Jones, that a libel, not being an obstruction to parliamentary business, could not be a lawful ground of commitment by either house, sir John Anstruther replied, that, if not a personal, it was a constructive impediment, and justified authoritative interference: the house agreeing in this doctrine, and considering the publication in question to be a gross and scandalous libel, a resolution was carried, by 190 against 150 votes, that sir Francis should be committed to the Tower on the speaker's warrant.

Instead, however, of acquiescing in this resolution, he disputed the warrant as an illegal document and expressed a

determination to resist not only that, but any other force which might be employed to coerce him : on this, the opinion of the attorney-general was taken ; in consequence of which, the serjeant-at-arms, accompanied by a number of police officers and a detachment of troops, proceeded to his mansion, which they entered by a window ; and after some altercation, conveyed this 'friend of the people' to the Tower : his escort however was grossly insulted by the way ; and, on its return, was attacked with so much violence, that the soldiers were obliged to fire in self-defence ; when two individuals were killed, and several wounded ; after which, the mob assembled about the house of the baronet, and committed many outrages. On the tenth of April, an offensive letter sent by sir Francis to the speaker, after the receipt of his warrant, became a subject of debate ; and though a resolution of the house declared it to be a flagrant breach of privilege, the anger which it excited led to no farther measures of punishment : some public bodies, particularly the electors of Westminster and London, petitioned with much warmth for his release ; but he continued in confinement to the end of the session ; when he privately retired from the Tower by water, to the great disappointment of a crowd, prepared to escort him, with popular applause, to his residence.

Sir Francis now commenced actions against the speaker, who issued the warrant for his arrest ; against the serjeant-at-arms for executing it, as well as for breaking open his house ; and against earl Moira, governor of the Tower, for illegal imprisonment : his object was to ascertain whether an appeal lay to a court of law against the house, acting as accuser and judge in proceedings that affected the liberty of the subject : the judges however would not admit that any unlawful measure had been adopted in his case ; or that the warrant issued by authority of the house was an illegal instrument : the attempt therefore to overthrow this branch of parliamentary privileges tended only to confirm it ; and gave to the claims of the house of commons a solemn recognition by our courts of law.

On the thirty-first of January, Mr. Ward moved the navy estimates, the sum total of which was £10,897,381 ; being less by £1,000,000 than that of last year : he accounted for this reduction, from the new regulations for keeping public accounts, and from an actual diminution of expenses. Mr. Bankes also asked leave to bring in a bill for making perpetual an act, passed last year, to prevent the granting offices in reversion : though vehemently opposed by the minister, he was supported

by individuals of all parties in the house, and the question was carried by acclamation ; but it was lost in the upper house : to the next motion, for the appointment of a finance committee, Mr. Perceval gave his decided opposition ; but this also was carried against him.

On the first of February, Mr. Horner moved for various accounts and returns respecting the state of the circulating medium, and trade in bullion ; on the production of which, a committee was appointed, who expressed an opinion, that the evils complained of were to be attributed to an excessive issue of Bank paper : and their report stated, ‘ that a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the foreign exchanges, would be the effect of an undue quantity of circulating medium in a country which had adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or convertible at will into a coin that can be exported.’ It was added, that no sufficient remedy could be pointed out, except a repeal of the law which suspended cash payments at the Bank ; to effect which, some difficulties must be encountered : but all hazard to the stability of the Bank, and all injury to public credit, might be obviated, by restricting cash payments for two years from the present time, and by entrusting to the Bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation.

On the ninth of February, the earl of Liverpool moved for the grant of a pension of £2000 to lord Wellington and his two next heirs, and a bill founded on this motion subsequently passed through parliament : on the same day, in the house of commons, sir Samuel Romilly proposed some alterations in the criminal law. The indiscriminate application of the sentence of death to crimes differing greatly in their degree of turpitude, had long been a subject of complaint : in his opinion, nothing could be more erroneous or mischievous, than that particular punishments should be allotted to particular offences, and that the law should not be acted on : he believed that not one out of six or seven, who received sentence, suffered the punishment annexed to it ; which rendered our law, not a preventive, but a manifest cause of the commission of crimes ; for these were prevented much more effectually by the certainty than by the severity of punishment. The solicitor-general contended for the discretionary power with which the judges were invested, as a salutary terror : and Mr. Perceval would not allow that our penal law deserved the epithet of ‘ sanguinary,’ since the practice was a part of the code. Leave however was given for sir Samuel to bring in a bill to amend the act of king

William relating to private stealing in shops, warehouses, &c., to the amount of five shillings; also one to amend the act of Anne as to stealing in a dwelling-house to the value of forty shillings; and another, to amend the act of George II. as to theft on navigable rivers to the same value. Though little more than discussion was produced at present by the efforts of this enlightened statesman to ameliorate our sanguinary code, yet great praise is due to him for laying the foundation of that reform which has since taken place.

On the sixteenth of May, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget; and the supplies voted for the year amounted to £52,185,000, of which, the proportion for Ireland was £6,106,000. No new taxes were imposed; but a loan of £8,000,000 was borrowed at the favorable rate of four pounds, four shillings, and three pence three farthings per cent. The foreign subsidies were, £400,000 for Sicily, and £980,000 for Portugal. A vote of credit was passed for £3,000,000; and Mr. Perceval made a very cheering report of British exports and imports; adding, that our orders in council had already reduced the receipts of customs in France, from the sum of £2,500,000, to that of £500,000.

On the eighteenth, a petition from the Irish catholics was presented by Mr. Grattan, who, in a long and luminous speech, brought forward all the arguments that could be adduced in its favor: the debate continued by adjournment for several nights; but the petition was rejected by a large majority: and the same fate attended one similar to it in the upper house. A motion by Mr. Brande on the subject of parliamentary reform was also negatived by a majority of 234 against 115.

A subject which now began strongly to occupy public attention, was brought before the house of lords on the thirtieth of May, by a motion for the second reading of the bill carried by sir S. Romilly in the commons, for abolishing the punishment of death in cases of privately stealing to the amount of five shillings in a shop: but the arguments which prevailed then, were regarded by the upper house as too speculative to be safe. Lord Ellenborough led the opposition to this bill; and was seconded by lord Eldon, who preferred discretionary powers residing in a judge, to a fixed punishment in every case excluding the particular circumstances: accordingly the bill was thrown out by a majority of 31 against 11. On the sixth of June certain petitions from the Irish catholics, which the earl of Donoughmore moved to refer to a committee of the whole house, were rejected by 154 votes against 68.

On the thirteenth, lord Grey brought forward a motion, 'to take into consideration the state of the nation;' which he prefaced by a very eloquent and argumentative speech. After expatiating on the enormous power acquired by Napoleon, the subjection of the whole continent to his dominion or influence, and the only hope which remained for Europe in the vigor and resistance of this country; he exposed the inefficiency and short-sighted policy of those measures which ministers had generally pursued: he then animadverted on the mismanagement of our internal-resources, and the evils of our domestic policy; dwelling on the pernicious effects of our extended paper currency, and on the necessity of some systematic arrangement of finances, to prevent the anticipation of our remaining resources. After a slight allusion to the expediency of conciliating so large a portion of British subjects, as that which constituted the Roman catholic body in these realms, his lordship thus expressed himself on the subject of parliamentary reform:—'This question has long been to me one of serious contemplation: I took an active part in it at an early age: I pursued my object with all that eager hope and sanguine expectation so natural to the ardor of youth. I will not say, that in subsequent times there have not been some differences from my former impressions. but of this I assure your lordships; that on its great grounds, it never has been abandoned by me: to the temperate and judicious reformation of abuses I am now a decided friend; and whenever it shall be brought forward, it shall receive from me a sincere and anxious assistance: but I never did, nor ever will, rest my views of salutary reform on the ground of theoretic perfection; though I am always ready to correct by the constitution a practical inconvenience, where it is practically felt: on this point, I was formerly misrepresented by that description of persons, who even now continue the same course: the folly and presumption of the present day have taken up a new doctrine; that every branch and exercise of our constitution was defined by law, and only to be found in the statute-book: but I have ever understood from the most able men, that the great and fundamental blessing of the British constitution was fixed in the co-operation and harmony of its powers, all leading to free and efficient government.' His lordship here entered into a vindication of himself against the accusation of those who classed him with the members of the Constitutional Society, and the followers of major Cartwright; utterly disclaiming their chimerical notions,

though he imputed to them no base designs: with reference to the agitation then prevailing on the subject of parliamentary privileges, he vindicated them as resting, like other great principles of government, on their utility and known existence; and he concluded by moving an address to his majesty. This motion excited a very animated debate, in which almost all the leading members of the house took part: an amendment was moved by lord Stanhope, in which the commitment of sir F. Burdett by the house of commons for contempt, was brought forward as a prominent subject of censure; when the chancellor, in answer to lord Erskine, who had concurred in this view, briefly vindicated the right of either house to commit for contempts, by analogy to attachments for contempt against the ordinary courts of jurisdiction—a description of process which, he said, was as much a part of the law of the land as the trial by jury itself. The amendment was negatived without a division; and the original motion rejected; the numbers, including proxies, being for it 72, against it 134.

Addresses were at this period voted in both houses, on the motion of lord Holland and Mr. Brougham, beseeching his majesty to persevere in his efforts to induce foreign nations to co-operate with him in the abolition of the slave trade. The latter gentleman, with great ability, laid open, not only the state of this abominable traffic in other countries, but the evasion with which its abolition was met in our own; where slave traders, like other smugglers, were in the constant habit of violating the laws: as the penalties were of a peculiar nature, it became only a commercial speculation, a consideration of the risk that might be run for a large profit, if success attended the adventure. A resolution for taking into consideration, early next session, measures to prevent this violation of the law, was unanimously adopted.

The twelfth report of the commissioners of military inquiry disclosed a flagrant instance of public delinquency, in the case of Joseph Hunt, a member of the house of commons, and late treasurer of the board of ordnance. It appeared that this person had misapplied large sums of the public money to his own use; and, on the motion of Mr. Calcraft, he was expelled the house; he had screened himself against farther punishment by emigrating to Lisbon, under the plea of ill health. After a very eventful and stormy session, parliament was prorogued on the twenty-first of June: events however occurred, which rendered it necessary to convoke its members again at an unusual period: these now demand our attention.

In the autumn of this year began the last and long protracted illness of his majesty, which was referred to several proximate causes, both of a public and a domestic nature. The tumults and loss of lives in the metropolis, consequent on the arbitrary construction of its own privileges by parliament, added to the failure of our expeditions, and the prostration of our continental allies, as well as the intense anxiety caused by late dissensions in the cabinet, naturally tended to disturb a mind enfeebled by age, and shaken by infirmity: at the same time, an extraordinary event, accompanied by mysterious circumstances of assassination and suicide, which were never unravelled, happened to his majesty's fifth son, the duke of Cumberland. On the thirty-first of May, his royal highness had retired to rest about one o'clock; but at half-past two, he suddenly received two violent blows or cuts on his head: the first impression on his mind was, that a bat had entered the room; but on receiving a third blow, he jumped out of bed; and as he was making for a door, near the head of it, which opened into a small room, the assassin followed, and cut him across the thighs: not being able to find the alarm-bell, his royal highness called for Neale, his valet-in-waiting, who came to his assistance, and alarmed the household. While the duke went to the porter's room, Neale went to awaken Sellis, an Italian, attached also as a valet to his royal highness's service: no answer however being returned to Neale's exclamations, the door was broken open, and Sellis was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear. It was supposed, that, when the alarm was given, being conscious of his guilt, and suspecting they were coming to take him into custody, he immediately committed the suicidal act: his slippers were discovered in a closet adjoining the chamber, in which he concealed himself till his royal master was asleep: he had five different rooms to pass through from thence to his own; and as traces of blood from his left arm were seen on the side of the narrow entrance, his coat was examined, and the left sleeve was found covered with blood: the prince of Wales went to the palace early in the morning to visit his brother, whom he found wounded in six places; and about eight o'clock he set off for Windsor with this sad intelligence, which could not fail to shock violently the mind of his royal father. The cause however most commonly assigned for the king's afflicting malady, was the illness of his favorite daughter, the princess Amelia, the termination of whose long sufferings was now evidently approaching: in October, this amiable lady had an attack of erysipelas, which

was attended with such excruciating pain, as could not fail to shatter a frame naturally delicate, and weakened by incurable disease: throughout the whole, she displayed a sublime fortitude; her pious resignation to the will of Providence increasing in proportion to the afflictions which she endured. While languishing in expectation of her last hour, she was constantly attended by her royal father, who administered to his child every consolation that could be drawn from religion: but the circumstance of a beloved daughter in the prime of life, passing rapidly to her dissolution in the midst of acute sufferings, naturally preyed on the king's mind; and a particular incident is related, as having brought on that aberration of intellect, in which he remained to the close of his earthly pilgrimage. About the twentieth of November, the princess, supposing her end to be nigh at hand, ordered a jeweller to prepare a mourning ring, containing a lock of her hair, with the inscription, 'Remember me,' and to bring it before three o'clock next day: when his majesty came, according to his unfailing custom, at that hour, and held out his hand to the sufferer, she placed it on his finger without uttering a word; and the father, it was said, never recovered the shock thus given to his feelings: his mental distress immediately became great; and in a few days the royal family were alarmed by symptoms of that dreadful malady, which ever afterwards afflicted him.

Parliament met on the first of November, when there was no power either to prorogue or to open it; as the king was not present, and no commission could be sent; for the chancellor did not think proper to affix the great seal to it without the royal signature: in this case, the precedent of 1788 was followed, when the peers and the commons remained in their separate chambers; the chancellor in the former, and Mr. Pitt in the latter, informing their respective houses, which had assembled without the usual notice or summons, of the impropriety of proceeding to any public business under such circumstances; after which an adjournment of fifteen days was unanimously resolved on. Committees were now appointed to examine the physicians attending his majesty; and successive adjournments took place until the thirteenth of December, when the houses met; and as it appeared from medical reports that the species of insanity under which his majesty labored held out very slight hopes of his recovery, at least for a considerable period, the chancellor of the exchequer took measures for the appointment of a regency, and brought forward three propo-

sitions. One, declaring the incapacity of the king to perform the functions of royalty, was unanimously agreed to :—another, asserting the right of the two houses to supply this defect in the executive power, was carried with the single dissentient voice of sir Francis Burdett, who could not acquiesce in the declaration, ‘that the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the united kingdom, lawfully, fully, and freely represented all estates of this realm ;’ for it was notorious, that instances of corruption had been proved against the house of commons, in the election of which 150 peers had vast influence. In 1688, he said, the city of London, and the respectable gentry throughout the country, who had sat in that house, were called in, by a convention parliament, to settle the great interests of the nation ; but now, a house, of which he drew some strong features, summing up its titles with that of ‘the Walcheren parliament,’ had, without any appeal to the people, its constituents, usurped all power to itself : he should therefore declare his solemn protest against the whole proceedings, as aiming a mortal blow against the constitution.—With regard to a third proposition, that means should be devised for giving the royal assent to a bill respecting the exercise of the regal authority during his majesty’s indisposition, Mr. Ponsonby denied that the houses had a right to command the chancellor to apply the king’s seal to an act which was thence to be considered as having the royal sanction ; and he moved for an address to the prince of Wales, praying him to take the regal functions on himself during the king’s illness. Mr. Canning preferred the precedents of 1788 to those of the Restoration or the Revolution ; and spoke in ridicule of sir Francis Burdett, as wishing to call in the assistance of the lord mayor and common council, to settle a regency. Sir Samuel Romilly thought the resolutions inconsistent with each other : ‘in one,’ said he, ‘the right of the lords and commons to fill up the vacancy is asserted ; and yet, that vacancy being acknowledged, the royal assent to a bill is to be procured, to which his majesty can give no assent : the will of the lords and commons can in no wise be construed into the king’s will ; nor can they by any means legislate for the nation : as well might a set of men, in common life, make a contract for an insane person, and then employ an individual, as his solicitor, to affix his seal and signature to the deed : in fact, the personal presence of the king, or of a commission signed by him, was essential to every act of legislation ; and if the house could dispense with this in one case, they might in others ; they might make war or peace,

and say such was the king's pleasure.' Mr. Whitbread spoke with great animation in favor of the proceeding by address, which the house rejected; there appearing for it 157, against it 269.

Next day the report of the committee was brought up; and on the second resolution being read, lord W. Russell objected to it as unnecessary, and as requiring the house to vote on abstract propositions. He was supported by sir Francis Burdett, who asserted, that the way of duty in the present case was plain and clear; for that, by addressing the prince, the house would not usurp a disputed power, but exercise an undoubted right: he took this opportunity of replying to the facetious remarks of Mr. Canning; observing, 'that the gloom occasioned by the deaths at Walcheren, and all the miseries of that disgraceful expedition, in which he had been convicted of acting with a colleague whose incapacity he had denounced, might have suspended his drolleries; especially, if he reflected, that there never was a minister in this country who so much deserved impeachment: he also might have recollected, that the corporation of London was an important body in our history; and it little became him to despise the city, who had not thought it beneath his dignity to meet at one of its taverns a set of jobbers and contractors, whom he entertained with speeches on affairs of state.' Various speakers delivered their sentiments; some opposing what they considered a very unconstitutional measure, by which the house would make itself king, in order to assent to its own act; while others contended, not only that the method of 1788 ought to be received as a complete precedent, but that the proceeding by address would be fraught with absurdity and contradiction. For what was proposed to be done? That the two houses should present an address to the prince, praying him to take on himself the executive power: if he agreed to this prayer, the natural supposition would be, that he was constitutional regent already: he would open parliament, as his royal father would have done; and yet he was not actually regent; for parliament, thus opened, was to proceed in the act to make him so: and here a long train of absurdities and inconsistencies would commence. Mr. Perceval, after replying at length to the arguments of his opponents, concluded with asserting, that he would not defer doing what the interest of the country required, though the deed might belong to the executive power, and even require the sign manual; he would act on his own responsibility, regardless of the result. The house divided on the pre-

vious question ; there being for it fifteen, against it ninety-eight.

The minister's resolutions having been carried in the house of lords, after an amendment proposed by lord Holland had been rejected ; it became necessary to define the powers with which the regent was to be invested : accordingly Mr. Perceval sketched out a plan of restrictions similar to that of 1788, with some little variation ; and this he forwarded, with a letter, to the prince of Wales. His royal highness, in reply, simply and briefly referred the minister to the letter which on a similar occasion he had sent to Mr. Pitt ; in which he had protested against the proposed plan of a restricted regency ; not because it conveyed any reflection on his personal character, but because, in his opinion, it essentially violated the British constitution : he agreed however to accept the high and important trust, even when so fettered and limited, from a regard to his royal father, and a desire, in the present embarrassing situation of affairs, to exert what ability he might possess. To an extraordinary protest of all the royal dukes, evidently influenced by the heir-apparent, against the proposed restrictions, as unconstitutional, and subversive of those principles which placed their family on the throne, Mr. Perceval very properly replied, 'that he had the satisfaction and consolation to reflect, that they were founded on the precedent of 1788, which had then received the sanction of parliament, and subsequently the approbation of his majesty.'

Parliament was opened in the usual form, by a commission under the great seal ; after the heads of the regency bill had passed through both houses, as estates of the realm assembled under peculiar circumstances. The bill was again brought forward in its constitutional and regular character ; every part of it was again canvassed ; and in every succeeding debate the efforts of opposition became more and more feeble. A committee of lords and commons was finally appointed to wait on the prince of Wales and her majesty, to lay before them the resolutions of the two houses relating to each ; when, in consequence of the assent of those royal personages, the bill was passed for a restricted regency ; and for the care of his majesty's person by the queen, with the assistance of a council : the principal restrictions on the regent were to cease on the first of February, 1812, provided parliament should have been sitting six weeks, and should be then assembled : provision also was made for his majesty's resumption of the regal authority, in case of his restoration to health. The present contest, it may

be observed, was animated by a spirit of party very similar to that which appeared in 1788: the whig opposition now, as then, placed a strong hope in the favorable disposition of the prince toward them, politically and personally; therefore they zealously contended for investing him, at the earliest moment, with the most extensive powers; while ministers felt a strong interest to delay as long as possible the appointment of a regent, who would probably dispossess them of office, and to confine his authority within the narrowest limits: but we must now advert briefly to contemporaneous events in other quarters of the globe.

Bonaparte was in the zenith of his glory as emperor; but his real power was in a state of decline: this requires some explanation. It was not long, before that enthusiastic ardor, which rendered the soldiers of the republic irresistible, vanished from the French army: but when this source of impetuous courage was dried up, habits of victory, and affection for the emperor, filled up the void: individual energy being supplied by rigid discipline and skilful tactics, the national warrior, under Napoleon's hands, became the well-drilled, mercenary, imperial soldier; and the veteran bands that conquered at Ulm and Austerlitz, could they have lasted, might have defied the world: but the reckless ambition of Bonaparte tempted him to shed this precious blood profusely on the fields of Spain. In the mean time, the Austrian war broke out: he called for new levies, and placed them under the old standards; but he could not renew the ancient spirit of his troops; nor was this supplied by the discipline which remedied all defects at Austerlitz: the consequences were felt at Essling and at Wagram; where victory bordered very much on defeat: his marshals too being arrived at the highest eminence to which he could raise them, became less obedient to his dictates, and more jealous of each other. The marriage, which he now contracted with Maria Louisa, saved him for a time; but the iniquitous and impolitic contest in Spain was still exhausting his best troops, those veterans of the revolution; and it soon appeared that their loss could not be compensated by conscripts of the empire.

Another and equally powerful cause of Napoleon's decline was his violation of the laws of national and social rights. Immediately after his marriage, he set out, accompanied by his bride, on a tour through Belgium, where his attention was particularly turned to the enormous extent of colonial produce which was introduced into his dominions through Holland;

and having in vain expostulated on the subject with his brother Louis, who scorned to act as a rigid impoverisher of his own subjects, Napoleon took from him the most important part of his kingdom; uniting to France those provinces which commanded the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt: soon afterwards, when this was found insufficient, an army was sent into Holland to enforce the counter blockade against the English; on which, Louis resigned his crown, and retired into Germany; while his kingdom was divided into departments, and incorporated with the French empire.

In Sweden, at the unexpected decease of the crown prince, several candidates appeared for the succession; but the national choice fell on marshal Bernadotte, between whom and Bonaparte there existed a secret and long-cherished enmity. As it was important to the emperor to have a staunch friend on the Swedish throne, he covertly opposed this election; and delayed his assent, by proposing restrictions on the independence of the future sovereign. Bernadotte however played his part well: having obtained from Napoleon a reluctant acquiescence, he left the French territories before there was time to retract it; and on his arrival in Sweden he endeavored by all possible means to ingratiate himself with the nation, and acquire its confidence: at present however he was unable to resist the influence of the French emperor, at whose requisition this northern government was obliged to declare its adherence to the continental system, prohibit all intercourse with Great Britain, and interdict the importation of colonial produce: thus, as in the case of Holland, the enmity of the people was added to that of the sovereign against Napoleon.

Other annexations made to the French empire, were that of the Valais, for the purpose of securing the passage over the Simplon into Italy; and that of the Hans Towns, with the whole territory between the Elbe and the Ems. This last measure not only increased discontent among the northern states of Germany, but gave considerable uneasiness to the czar: and Alexander soon showed his displeasure, by prohibiting any importation of French agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia: as the continental system had destroyed all trade in the ports of the Baltic, he exhibited himself more favorable to the English;² while reciprocal complaints of bad faith led gradually to a disruption of friendly ties between the two emperors. The electorate of Hanover also was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia; to all dependent

² See Bourrienne's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 198.

states the odious and cruel conscription laws were extended ; while in France itself it became necessary to rivet the chains of despotism by a rigid police, and an intire suppression of the liberty of the press. Decrees for seizing and burning English merchandise were carried into execution, not only in France, but in all countries subject to the disastrous rule of its master : the captain of any vessel, holding intercourse with Great Britain or her ships, was rendered subject to the penalty of death, and its owner to that of the brand. ‘ In the interior of France,’ says de Bourrienne, who was at this time French envoy at Hamburg, ‘ no idea could be formed of the desolation caused by these measures in countries which existed by commerce ; and what a spectacle it was to their destitute inhabitants to witness the destruction of property, which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery :’ thus popular discontent increased, while the continent was still inundated with British manufactures ; for however powerful may be the will of a despot, it is less powerful and less permanent than are the wants of a people. Lastly, it may be observed, that Napoleon lay under the anathemas of the church ; and an act of his had lately increased the odium which he had acquired by his treatment of its head. The Italian ecclesiastics, by their influence, still maintained the supremacy of the pope : these, being collected together in large bodies at Rome, were constrained by an imperial edict to retire to their respective residences ; and when symptoms of dissatisfaction showed themselves, a French corps of 20,000 men was collected in the vicinity ; the churches and other public edifices being converted into barracks for their accommodation. At this time, when Napoleon stood most in need of sincere advisers, he was surrounded by court sycophants : the great diplomatist, who could have saved him from folly and disaster, remained in disgrace ; and his brother Lucien, disgusted at his tyrannical conduct, had sought an asylum in England : all these circumstances tended to undermine the imperial power, when it seemed at its greatest height, and when it afforded to its possessor the most flattering hopes of permanency.

Great Britain was now in the very struggles of her crisis : the enormous pressure of taxation, increased as it was by rashly-advised and ill-conducted expeditions, weighed heavy on her finances ; the Berlin and Milan decrees seriously affected her commerce, before new channels could be found for the exit of her manufactures and colonial produce ; the alarming

depreciation of her paper currency, with a consequent rise of prices, created general misery among the lower orders ; while innumerable bankruptcies were followed by a dreadful reverse of fortune, among those who were accustomed to all the comforts and elegances of life. With regard to government, the cabinet was still weak ; the quarrels of its principal members remained unhealed ; and the regent was dissatisfied with the restrictions by which he was bound : at the same time a strong opposition in the house of commons was so adverse to our prosecution of the Spanish war, overrating the powers of Napoleon, undervaluing the talents of our great captain, and disgusted at the inferiority of our war administration, that ministers were hesitating whether they should not withdraw from the contest ; and lord Wellington's cautious proceedings chiefly arose from his knowledge that any serious reverses in the peninsula would be followed by its abandonment to the enemy.

In this fearful state of things, another conflict in a different hemisphere seemed fast approaching, when the American minister in London demanded the recall of Mr. Jackson, our envoy ; and Bonaparte, availing himself of the bill passed by congress for a conditional repeal of the non-importation act, declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees, as far as they affected America, should cease to operate on the first of November : the president accordingly issued a proclamation, on the seventh of that month, discontinuing all restrictions relating to France and her dependences ; with a professed determination, that if Great Britain did not revoke her orders in council by the second of February, the interdict would be enforced against her. This appeared a gloomy picture ; yet it was relieved by some gleams of light : England still had the uncontrolled dominion of the sea ; her colonial power went on increasing ; and whenever her fleets could co-operate with her military forces, success generally attended her banners. In the beginning of July, Murat collected a large armament on the coast of Calabria, for the invasion of Sicily : after many skirmishes between his flotilla and that prepared by sir John Stuart to resist him, in which great numbers of Neapolitan vessels were taken or destroyed, he succeeded in throwing on shore a force of about 3500 men near the Faro point ; but, not being properly supported, 900 of them were taken prisoners by general Campbell, and the rest driven for shelter to their vessels. With similar success, the island of Anholt, in the Baltic, was defended by captain Maurice with 380 men, against a Danish force of nearly 3000, which landed there on

the twenty-third of March. In the list of our conquests was that of Santa Maura, added to the other Ionian islands rescued from French dominion : the Dutch settlements of Amboyna, and Banda, the principal of their spice islands, surrendered to our arms ; as also did the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, which had long afforded shelter to French privateers, to the great injury of our East Indian commerce : in the latter island, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandise, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-eight merchantmen, beside two British captured East Indiamen, were taken by the conquerors. In the West Indies, the important island of Guadaloupe, the last colonial possession of France, surrendered to a combined naval and military force under admiral sir Alexander Cochrane and lieutenant-general Beckwith ; the latter of whom commanded an army of about 6000 men, divided into five brigades : by the prompt and judicious operations of these several corps, when a landing had been effected, the enemy was driven from all the positions he had occupied : having then compressed his forces, he retired to an apparently impregnable situation, beyond the bridge of Nozière, which was broken down. The spot chosen for defence was of a triangular shape, two sides being deep ravines ; but the base consisted of a mountainous and woody ridge, the intricate passes of which were strongly guarded. The great obstacle to the British, in the way of farther proceedings, was the passage of the river Noire, which ran down the ravine in front of the enemy : sir George Beckwith therefore determined not to hazard an attack in that quarter, but rather on the flank of his opponents, notwithstanding all the obstructions which nature and art presented to this manœuvre. Accordingly, brigadier-general Wale, who commanded the reserve, was ordered to carry his brigade by night over the hills, for the purpose of turning the enemy's left ; this order however had scarcely been given, when the general met with a man who had long been accustomed to hunt in those mountains, and who offered, at the risk of his life, to guide the troops by a path too intricate to be attempted in the dark, but which would bring them on the enemy's flank in two hours. There now remained only one hour and a half to sunset : no time was to be lost in sending to the commander-in-chief, whose route, laid down for the reserve, required five hours ; while general Wale from his position could see the British left already engaged with the enemy ; whence it was clear to him, that the French left could not be reinforced in less time than was required for

his march. In this situation he adopted the resolution of a firm, vigorous, and patriotic mind : risking all personal consequences that might ensue from the disobedience of orders, he instantly began his march ; carried his brigade through the most intricate passes in the time specified ; and, after a short, but severe conflict, drove in the enemy, and gained the strong post which laid them open to an attack in flank and rear. The French commander was so confounded at seeing the heights occupied by British troops, that he sent a flag of truce, and surrendered the whole island without farther contest : brigadier Wale was wounded in this service ; and sir George Beckwith, in general orders, bore honorable testimony to the zeal and ability with which he had conducted his operations. In the same month, St. Eustace and St. Martin were also taken ; and nothing more was left in this part of the world for British arms to conquer.

In Spain and Portugal, though the political horizon was still gloomy, some indications of a brighter day appeared : a reaction against the power of imbecile and selfish juntas had become visible ; while Lord Wellington, who had given proofs of consummate talent and exemplary discretion, acquired an ally among the British ministers, in the person of his brother, from whose enlightened views and active co-operation he anticipated the happiest results. It is now time to resume our detail of operations in the peninsula, for the conquest of which Bonaparte this year made extraordinary exertions.

After the battle of Ocaña, the French under Soult, assisted by Victor and Mortier, and accompanied by the king in person, advanced into the south of Spain : having, on the twentieth of January, penetrated the passes of the Sierra Morena, almost without resistance, they established their head-quarters at Baylen.

Sebastiani overran Grenada, and took possession of Malaga : Seville surrendered to Victor on the tenth of February ; the supreme junta, assembled there, having previously retired to the isle de Leon, on the extreme point of which stands the city of Cadiz. This last refuge of Spanish independence had been exposed to great danger through vacillation or treachery ; and it was saved by a remarkably rapid march of the duke of Albuquerque, one of the few Spanish generals, to whom their country is indebted for good service in her time of danger. This nobleman, at the head of 8000 men, retreated from Utrera, when he saw that Seville must fall ; and on his arrival at Cadiz, he found that the junta, who were strongly suspected of a design to make terms with Joseph, had been deposed, and

the supreme authority vested in a regency : vigorous preparations were then made for defence ; all persons capable of bearing arms were enrolled ; British troops were called in from Lisbon and Gibraltar ; while the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty sail of the line, was moored in the harbor, under the direction of admiral Purvis, who also brought in the British squadron. French troops occupied the whole circuit of the bay, endeavoring to annoy the shipping and town ; but not venturing a regular attack on the isle of Leon : they however took fort Matagorda, situated on the opposite side of the harbor, about two miles from Cadiz, after it had been bravely defended two months by a body of British soldiers and sailors. In Catalonia, the Spanish general, O'Donnel, who had collected a considerable force for the purpose of raising the siege of Hostalric, was defeated on the plain of Vich ; and, after a brave resistance of four months, the castle of Hostalric was taken, by which the French secured a communication between Gerona and Barcelona : in June, they captured the important fortresses of Lerida and Mequinenza ; but Tortosa, which was next besieged, did not surrender before the commencement of the following year. Valencia, for the surprise of which a plan was concerted between Suchet and some traitors within the city, was defended by General Caro, who marched out against the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter : in the south, 6000 French stationed at Ronda, were surprised by a detachment from Algesiras, under general Lacy : and fled in disorder, leaving their arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers. The spirit of resistance spreading to the frontiers of Murcia, Sebastiani was ordered into that province ; where he compelled the Spaniards to retire to Alicante : an expedition undertaken against Malaga, in October, proved unsuccessful ; and lord Blaney, who commanded our troops, was taken prisoner.

In Galicia and the Asturias, war was carried on with various success, by the Spanish generals, Porlier, Mahi, and Renovales, assisted by a squadron of British frigates stationed at Corunna ; Sir Home Popham being sent by the British government to direct the naval, and general Walker the military department. Various expeditions from Corunna increased the audacity of the guerilla forces, which frequently united in numbers sufficient to attack large French detachments with such success, that lord Liverpool became anxious to employ a corps of 4000 British troops to secure Santona, which had the best winter harbor on the coast : but when he consulted Wellington, that sagacious

commander dissuaded him from the project, declaring that it was vain to hope for assistance even in this way from the Spaniards. 'The first thing,' said he, 'which they would require, would be money; then arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, horses, forage, and every thing which the expedition ought to demand from them; and after all, this extraordinary and perverse people would scarcely allow its commander to have a voice in the plan of operations to be followed, when the whole were ready to undertake any; if indeed they ever should be ready.' Meanwhile Napoleon caused Caffarelli's reserve to enter Spain, ordered Santona to be fortified, and directed other reinforcements to these provinces; sending marshal Bessières to command the army of the north, which at the end of the year exceeded 70,000 men. The army of the centre amounted to 27,000, exclusive of the French and Spanish guards, and the *juramentados*, or native troops, which had taken the oath of allegiance to Joseph: with this force, the new monarch protected his court, watched the movements of the Valencians, and checked incursions of the *partidas*. In Andalusia, Seville was the chief point of French defence; Cadiz that of attack: in this latter city, the national Cortes at length met, and the long-suppressed voice of the people was now heard: but the hopes, which had been thus excited, ended in disappointment.

Having assumed the lofty title of majesty, this assembly declared the press free, except in matters of religion; abolished some of the provincial juntas; reappointed captains-general, and proceeded to form a constitution worded in the spirit of republican freedom: but these abstract principles of liberty were not what the Spanish nation desired; national pride and religious influence were the main-springs of its action; and the Cortes, in suppressing old establishments, and violating old forms, wounded various interests, created powerful enemies, and shocked those very prejudices which produced resistance to Napoleon: at the same time, in the administration of civil and military affairs, procrastination, intrigue, folly, and violence were still predominant; and though there was no cordial union among any parties in acting against the common enemy; yet, with respect to the colonies, which had contributed 90,000,000 of dollars to the support of the war, all agreed to push violence, injustice, and impolicy to the utmost limits. The manner in which those transatlantic provinces were governed by the mother country had long been a subject of much discontent; but the treatment which they had lately experienced from the

regency, by the tyrannical suppression of their direct trade with Great Britain one month after it had been allowed, tended greatly to increase their dissatisfaction: when the Cortes met, they expected more justice; but as soon as the colonial rights were agitated in that assembly, eternal slavery was declared to be the only lot adapted to persons, whom these proud and bigoted Spaniards would scarcely acknowledge as belonging to the great family of mankind. 'The Americans complain of having been tyrannised over for three hundred years! they shall now suffer for three thousand years.'—'We know not to what class of beast the Americans belong.' Such, says colonel Napier, were the expressions heard and applauded in the Cortes, when the rights of the colonists were agitated in that assembly.³

The rising spirit of liberty first manifested itself in the province of Caraccas, where the magistrates were deposed, and a provisional junta was formed for conducting the government on principles of fraternisation and unity with the mother country, though with the expectation of ultimate independence: other provinces soon followed the example; and on the nineteenth of April, the confederacy of Venezuela was formed. Having been declared traitors, their ports were blockaded, until they should acknowledge the authority of the regency at Cadiz, as the legitimate representatives of Ferdinand VII.; though the colonists affirmed, that the central junta had no right to appoint a regency before the assembling of the Cortes: at the same time, the promise of an amnesty was held out for what had passed, on condition of future obedience. Two parties now arose in Spanish America; the loyalists, who submitted to the regency; and the independents, who insisted on governing themselves: king Joseph endeavored to form a third, but met with no success. The junta of Caraccas opened a correspondence with the British government, through that of Curaçoa: but lord Liverpool, in his reply, observed, 'that, under obligations of justice and good faith, his Britannic majesty must discourage every attempt to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother country: yet if Spain should be condemned to submit to the yoke of the common enemy, every assistance should be given to those provinces in rendering them independent of that power, and obtaining in them an asylum for such Spaniards as should disdain to submit to their oppressors; where they might preserve the remains of the monarchy for their lawful sovereign, should he ever recover his liberty.'

³ Napier, vol. iii. p. 420.

Providence however in his mercy decreed otherwise; and Spanish America has not been cursed with the aid of Great Britain to rivet on its people the leaden fetters of a despotism which was perhaps unexampled among nations: many indeed are the miseries these colonists have undergone; many more also it will be their fate to undergo, before they have worked out their freedom, and cleared away corruptions engendered by ages of tyranny and misrule: but these evils are transitory: they will pass off like fogs and exhalations from the purified atmosphere; and their latest posterity will have cause to rejoice, that no British cabinet had the power of bringing their country again under the yoke of a Bourbon dynasty.

Several months had now elapsed since the French resumed their schemes of conquest, interrupted by the Austrian war and British movements; routing the Spanish armies, dispersing their scattered troops, and subduing fortress after fortress, until all solid resistance was gone, and no hope of deliverance remained for the peninsula, except what rested on the English general. That distinguished chief, when he had freed his operations from the wretched influence of Spanish juntas, retired to undertake the defence of Portugal against the whole power of France; but not without a cautious estimate of all the difficulties and chances of success in a country, the face of which he had viewed with the eye of a skilful tactician. Soon after the fatal battle of Ocaña, he repaired to Seville, where he met his brother, the marquis Wellesley, and held several conferences with the Spanish government: he next entered into correspondence with the cabinet at home, the members of which were so fully satisfied of the practicability of his schemes, that they determined to support him: but as the dreadful loss of men occasioned by the Walcheren expedition prohibited them from sending any reinforcement of troops for the present, they agreed to take 10,000 more of the Portuguese into British pay; and thus, pledging themselves to an annual subsidy of nearly £1,000,000, they justly required, under pain of stopping such a supply, that the Portuguese regency should effectively keep up that part of the military establishment which remained under their own direction.

When Wellington moved his troops from the banks of the Guadiana, he placed the greater part of them in healthy and comfortable quarters along the valley of the Mondego; expecting a reinforcement of 5000 infantry, and a cavalry regiment from England: on the twentieth of January his head quarters were at Viseu; general Hill being left with 10,000 men, half

British and half Portuguese, at Abrantes, in order to watch Badajos, and protect Lisbon, as well as the right flank of the British army: the head-quarters of marshal Beresford were at Thomar; in which place, and its neighboring villages, the Portuguese troops were stationed.

In the mean time, the French movements were again under the direction of Napoleon; and not Andalusia only, but every part of the peninsula was destined to feel his influence. Fresh troops, flushed with their late victories in Germany, were inundating Spain, and pursuing the track of the old legions, while the latter were impelled forward in the career of invasion: yet, even under these circumstances, the British general meditated a forward movement into Castile, in order to threaten the rear of Joseph's army, and force him to desist from his attack on Andalusia: he well knew how fast recruits for the French armies were pouring into the country, though the junta had assured him that they amounted only to 8000 men; but he was obliged to relinquish his design, because his own reinforcements did not arrive from England before those of his opponents came into line; because the Portuguese troops had suffered such hardships during the winter, that to put them forward would be to risk their total disorganisation; and because marshal Mortier had brought up his division against Badajos; so that the removal of general Hill's force from Abrantes would have exposed the right flank of the British army to imminent danger. The invasion of Andalusia was soon discovered to be only part of a general movement: exclusive of the army which forced the Sierra Morena, three corps, the sixth, second, and fifth, amounting to 50,000 men, might have united to oppose the British advance; while 100,000 victorious troops, rendered disposable by the peace of Vienna, were crossing the Pyrenees: of these, a complete division, under Junot, was already arrived in the plains of Valladolid; and would, in conjunction with Kellerman, have overwhelmed our army, but for that sagacity which the French, with derisive but natural anger, and the Spaniards with ignorance and ingratitude, termed, 'the selfish caution of the English system.'¹

Henceforward lord Wellington turned his whole attention to Portugal; against which country, before the end of May, the French brought an army, amounting to near 87,000 men of all arms, under the chief command of Massena; while the ninth corps, of 24,000, under Drouet, was arranged for its support,

¹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 232.

along the great line of communication from Vittoria to Valladolid ; and a division of more than 10,000, under general Serras, was employed as a moveable column to protect its rear : beside these troops, the French army of the south, under Soult, consisted of 73,000 men ; that of the centre, under Joseph, reckoned 24,000 ; and about 144,000 were distributed, under Macdonald, Suchet, and other able commanders, in the various governments. To oppose this mighty force, the Spaniards had little except their *partidas*, or irregular bands ; which, though extremely annoying to the French, would have soon disappeared under the stern system of Napoleon, had they not been supported by the presence of British armies, to which eventually they became extremely serviceable.

In Portugal, however, strange to say, lord Wellington was met by innumerable obstacles, similar to those which he had experienced in Spain. There were three principal parties in the country : that of the great mass of the people, ready to undergo every extremity for independence ; that of the disaffected, who expected an ameliorated government if the French should be successful ; and that of the *fidalgos*, or nobles, who hoped to profit by the energies of the nation, without any diminution of their privileges, or of the abuses of government. These latter were a powerful body, acting in co-operation with a regency as corrupt and imbecile as the supreme junta of Spain : at their head was that furious and bigoted priest, the bishop of Oporto, who had lately been raised to the dignity of patriarch : his colleagues, the Monteiro Mor, and the marquis of Das Minas, were jealous of each other ; but, like their chief, unanimous in support of abuses : insomuch that the re-organisation of the army, carried on by marshal Beresford, was so hateful to those who profited by its former state, that Das Minas resigned in disgust, and became a centre round which the disaffected of all parties rallied : four new members were then added to the regency ; of whom, the first, Antonio, commonly called Principal Souza, was a daring, unprincipled intriguer, who, in league with the patriarch, sought every opportunity to thwart our commanders. Thus, as colonel Napier observes, an exceedingly powerful cabal was formed, whose object was to obtain the supreme direction of civil and military affairs, controlling both Wellington and Beresford ; and while the chevalier Souza, brother of the principal, was envoy at the court of London, another, Don Pedro de Souza, in the same capacity near the Spanish regency, and the conde Linhares, head of the family, prime minister in the Brazils, their dangerous intrigues were

supported with a high hand by the cabinet of Rio Janeiro.⁵ To counteract and overcome the machinations of this cabal, gave lord Wellington, for a long time, more trouble than to beat the French: perhaps they would have been too much even for his powerful mind, distracted as it was by other cares, had it not fortunately happened that Canning's envoy, Mr. Villiers, was superseded by Charles Stuart, just at the time when consummate experience in the affairs of the peninsula, aided by a resolute temper, was absolutely necessary to support the commander-in-chief. Having required and obtained, as marshal-general of Portugal, an authority over the forces independent of the local government, Wellington called on the regency to revive the ancient military laws, by which the whole male population was to be enrolled and bear arms: this effected, he demanded that the people should be ordered to lay waste the country, on whatever line the enemy might penetrate: but, knowing that he had to oppose the finest armies of France with a small British force, before the discipline and valor of his Portuguese allies could be ascertained, he conceived the grand design, of turning the mountains that cross the neck of land on which Lisbon is situated, into an impregnable citadel, to receive the defenders of the peninsula, if they should be obliged to retire before the overwhelming masses of its invaders. Knowing also the uncertainty of war, and the dangers of an encounter with 80,000 veterans of France, lord Wellington prepared a second and a third line of intrenchments; whilst a large fleet of transports was constantly kept in the river, for the reception, not only of British and Portuguese forces, but such of the citizens also as might wish to embark. It then remained to organise a method of supplies for his army in a country almost exhausted of provisions; and, lastly, to consider attentively every line of operation on which the enemy might advance, in order to obstruct his movements. Such were some of the difficulties that surrounded this second Marlborough; such the intricate combinations which engaged his mighty mind, when he undertook to renew the ancient glories of his country, tarnished by recent failures on the continent.

The British army, distributed into five divisions, was thus disposed in the beginning of the campaign: the first division of 6000 men under general Spencer was stationed at Viseu; the second under general Hill at Abrantes; the third of 3000 under general Picton at Celerico; the fourth of 4000 under

⁵ Napier, vol. iii. p. 250.

general Cole at Guarda ; and the light division of 2400 under general Robert Craufurd at Pinhel ; while 3000 cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton were ranged along the valley of the Mondego ; the whole number under arms being not more than 23,400 ; to this however must be added about 20,000 Portuguese regulars at Thomar, 5000 at Abrantes, and the militia with the *ordenança*, that formed a kind of defence at the wings of lord Wellington's line.

The early movements of the French were vague, and their projects obscure : while Mortier menaced Badajos, Ney summoned Ciudad Rodrigo ; and Loison advanced against Astorga, from which place he was repulsed. Junot, with the eighth corps, then meditated its siege, but was suddenly called toward Madrid to repress any disorders that might occur in the king's absence ; while Kellerman advanced to Alba de Tormes ; and detachments from his force, and that of Ney, chased the Spanish general, Carrera, from the Gata and Begar mountains. The invasion of Portugal by the northern line was not yet finally arranged : whatever designs might have been contemplated, they were frustrated, partly by the insurrection in Grenada and the failure of Suchet in Valencia, partly by dissention among the leaders in the absence of Napoleon. When the commotions in the south subsided, Junot returned into Old Castile ; and, having established communications between himself and Ney, invested Astorga, which fell after a gallant resistance on the night of the twenty-first of April. During this siege, the sixth corps was concentrated at Salamanca ; a detachment sent by Kellerman seized the pass of Baños ; and a strong battering train arrived at Salamanca. The grand operations were now commencing ; the whole line of communication with France swarmed with living masses ; and a report arose that the emperor himself was on the way to head his armies : the emperor however was bound at Paris by the silken fetters of Hymen ; but Massena, the highest in rank among his marshals, a stranger also to those petty intrigues and jealousies which had hitherto obstructed the French conquests, was selected to be the representative of Napoleon ; and his authority was made absolute in the northern provinces of Spain. Having repaired to Madrid for the purpose of conferring with the king, he there decided on the northern line of invasion ; and, during his residence in the capital, he sent instructions to marshal Ney to undertake the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the twenty-sixth of April this place was invested by about 25,000 French troops : the garrison amounted to 6000

fighting men, beside the citizens; and the veteran Don Andreas Herrasti, its governor, was one of the few Spanish officers worthy of their country's best days. The British head-quarters were now removed to Celerico; the garrison naturally looked for assistance; and the allied forces were eager for the contest; but no demonstration was made to co-operate with the besieged. Lord Wellington has been censured for this inactivity; as disregarding, with a worse than stoical indifference, the sufferings of his allies, and the taunts of his enemies. Let the detractors of this great general attend to an observation made at the time by one, who seems fully to have entered into the profound views of his distinguished commander. 'If,' said general Picton, 'we attempt to relieve this place, the French will drive us out of Portugal; while, if they get possession of it, they will lose time, which is of more importance to them than Ciudad Rodrigo.'⁶ At this period also, lord Wellington's operations were so cramped by the scandalous conduct of the Portuguese regency, who kept back all the resources of their country, that it was not without great difficulty he could maintain his position on the frontier. Their conduct was exactly similar to that which he had experienced from the Spanish junta in his advance on Talavera; and his remonstrances were treated with the same contemptuous indifference and neglect: but feeling himself here to be in a different relative situation, he wrote in a severe and menacing style to those traitors; by which means alone he procured some relief for his troops. How different might have been the result of this campaign, if Massena, despising the small Spanish garrison left in the rear of his immense army, had pressed boldly on, while Regnier had taken Hill's division in flank! Well might the emperor, when he deliberately criticised operations at St. Helena, declare that his lieutenant had violated the essential rules of offensive warfare!⁷

Lord Wellington's capacious and reflective mind had at this time taken an anticipated view, not only of the present campaign, but of the whole peninsular war: he had now become acquainted with the character and resources both of his allies and of his antagonists; and he was well aware that one or two victories on his own side could not decide the contest, while a single defeat might at once bring it to a conclusion. Not all the wiles of his antagonist therefore could induce him to hazard an engagement: but in order to keep up the animation of his troops, he permitted general Craufurd, one of the most daring

⁶ Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 283.

⁷ 'Il n'avait pas raisonné son opération,' was the expression.

and impetuous spirits of the age, to commence a series of operations with his light division; giving him however strict injunctions not to pass the Coa, and not to bring on a general action. With 4000 infantry, 1100 cavalry, and six guns, this enterprising officer executed a brilliant series of manœuvres, within a few hours' march of the grand French army, defeating many detachments, especially of cavalry; and cutting up the resources of the country, which he appropriated to the sustenance of his own troops. His division was at the same time in so perfect a state of discipline, that the whole would, when any occasion offered itself, form in order of battle, with the baggage packed in the rear, in less than a quarter of an hour.

In the mean time, Ciudad Rodrigo, left to its fate, held out nobly till the first of July; when Massena, sensible that Ney's mode of attack was faulty, made some alterations which soon brought all the outward defences of the place into his possession; and on the ninth, so terrible a fire was opened on the town itself, that the Spanish guns were nearly silenced, and a wide breach was visible in the wall. 'At this moment,' says colonel Napier, 'three French soldiers, of heroic courage, suddenly running out of the ranks, mounted the breach; looked into the town; and, having thus proved the state of the works, discharged their muskets, and retired unhurt to their comrades: the columns of assault immediately assembled; and the troops, animated by this example, as well as by the presence of Ney, were impatient for the signal. A few moments would have sent them raging into the midst of the city; when a white flag waved on the rampart, and the venerable governor was seen standing alone on the ruins, and signifying by his gestures that he desired to capitulate: he had stricken manfully, while reason warranted hope: and it was no dishonor to his silver hairs, that he surrendered when resistance could only lead to massacre and devastation.'⁸

Soon after the fall of this place, Craufurd, who had ventured to depart from his commander's general instructions so far as to pass the Coa, brought on a combat between his division and a

⁸ If the wretched Ferdinand had possessed a soul removed one degree above the brute creation, he would have employed artists to delineate this and other instances of heroic valor, in his subjects, instead of using his own royal fingers to embroider petticoats for the Virgin. Such noble representations would have adorned the walls of the Escorial quite as well as the figures of tortured saints, or the loves of heathen deities.

superior force; by which he was driven across a bridge over that river, and pursued by the enemy: there however his troops made a gallant stand, and the French lost more than 1000 men; the slaughter at the bridge being dreadful to behold: the general then made good his retreat behind the Pinhel, with a loss of forty-four Portuguese, and 272 British killed, wounded, or missing; among whom were twenty-eight officers.

Massena pushed some troops over the Coa for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the allies and Almeida: on the twenty-seventh of July these reached the Pinhel; and the British army was drawn back to a more concentrated position, where it remained several days anxiously watching the movements of the enemy: on the third of August, however, the French retired again behind the Coa; but Wellington could not be induced to alter his plans: so that when Massena, after much dilatory proceeding, invested Almeida, colonel Cox the governor, was left with a garrison of about 4000 men, to make the best defence in his power. On the eighteenth, the trenches were begun under cover of a false attack; and on the twenty-sixth, the second parallel being completed, sixty-five pieces of artillery, mounted in ten batteries, opened on the place: the counter fire however was briskly kept up, and little serious damage was sustained; but just after dark, treason or an accidental shell caused an explosion in the magazines, which not only reduced the town to ruins, with an enormous destruction of life, but dismounted the guns, and breached the rampart. Colonel Cox, hoping that the British army might relieve him, and knowing the importance of delay, would still have refused the enemy's demand to surrender, had he not been betrayed by his Portuguese officers, at the head of whom was Bernardo Costa, lieutenant-governor of the fortress, who was afterwards brought to trial by marshal Beresford, and shot as a traitor.

As soon as lord Wellington became acquainted with the fall of Almeida, he ordered the army to fall back behind the Mondego; but still a considerable degree of inertness pervaded the operations of his antagonist: he hesitated to advance, seeming either disinclined to commence the invasion, or undecided as to the mode of conducting it: he already experienced great difficulty in feeding his men, who by depredation and cruelty had rendered the inhabitants in their rear implacable enemies; nor could supplies be easily sent from other parts of Spain, on account of the guerilla bands, whose knowledge of the country was so perfect, that they were able to destroy an

escort with very little risk to themselves. Massena also waited till he could be assured of the co-operation of Regnier; and that general suddenly appeared at Sabugal on the first of September, threatening to advance on Guarda, and turn the right of the British; while the French cavalry actually attacked its piquets in front: Wellington then drew his infantry behind Celerico, and fixed his cavalry at that place, with posts of observation at Guarda and Trancoso. It appeared to be the French general's design at this time to advance into Portugal by three different routes, on the lines of Pinhel, Alverca, and Guarda; but, suddenly changing the plan which his demonstrations indicated, he now concentrated his forces, and commenced a rapid march along the right bank of the Mondego, in the hope of securing Coimbra, before the junction of Hill's corps, no longer under the necessity of watching Regnier, should enable Wellington to offer effectual resistance. The road selected by Massena for his advance was so full of natural impediments, as to be considered almost impracticable; but had he determined to take that on the left bank, by which his antagonist was now retiring, he must previously have encountered the British army in the strong passes of the Estrella, a mountain-chain extending from the Tagus to the Mondego; he therefore chose the road northward of this river. In the mean time, reports of the French advance created such a panic in the capital, and such a false coloring was given to all the British operations by its infamous regency, that our commander was under the necessity of remonstrating severely with that body on the nature of their proceedings; declaring, 'that unless a stop was put to their miserable intrigues, he would advise his own government to withdraw its army.' So mischievous indeed had these proceedings been, that the tract of country between the Mondego and the lines at Torres Vedras still contained provision sufficient to support the French during the ensuing winter; and the people were unprepared to expect an enemy, or to attempt a removal of their property: his only choice therefore lay between stopping the invaders on the Mondego, or laying waste the country as he retreated, and driving the wretched inhabitants before him to the shelter of his lines: the consequences of defeat would have been so dreadful, and the probability of it was so great, when the *matériel* of the enemy's army was compared with that of his own, that prudence obliged his lordship to take the latter course; though he knew how his actions would be misrepresented by the violent faction which opposed all his measures,

and was ready to inflame the public mind against all his counsels.

Having come to this determination, he lost no time in retreating; so that he might take every advantage over his advancing foes. As they proceeded with great labor and difficulty along the right bank of the Mondego, he kept a parallel line with their march; and being less encumbered, he so far outstripped them, that by an able and rapid manœuvre during the twentieth and twenty-first of September, he crossed the river, and took up a position in their front, on the Sierra de Busaco. This mountain, about eight miles in length, and abutting on the Mondego, is connected with the Sierra de Caramula by a rugged tract almost impervious to the march of an army: its face is rough, steep, and fit for defence; while the approach to a position taken on its crest is very unfavorable to an attacking army. When this formidable post was occupied, some British officers expressed their fears that Massena would not assail it: lord Wellington thought otherwise; and his ready answer was, 'but if he does, I shall beat him.'⁹ Massena, ignorant respecting the nature of the country, was misled by reports; nor was he a man likely to be deterred by the first difficulty that opposed his progress.

General Hill had not yet joined the British army with his division, and Leith's corps was still engaged in passing the river: consequently, it is possible, that if the French had made their attack instantly, they might have forced the pass; but Massena was not on the spot, and Ney was unwilling to risk a battle on his own responsibility: the favorable moment therefore was lost; and by the twenty-sixth our army was concentrated in its strong position, covered in front by steep precipices and pathless defiles: on the twenty-fourth, the enemy appeared in force, and skirmished with the British piquets in front of Mortagao; while a party of their cavalry received a severe check from the fourteenth dragoons. Early on the twenty-fifth, the impetuous Craufurd moved down from his post, and seemed disposed to renew the scene of the Coa; when the enemy came on so rapidly, that Wellington himself was obliged to interfere, and cover the retreat of the light division: all his energy and skill were required to prevent its being seriously engaged: 'howbeit,' says colonel Napier, 'a series of rapid and beautiful movements, a sharp cannonade, and an hour's march, brought every thing back, in good order, to the great position; but almost at the same moment the

⁹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 324.

opposite ridge was crowned by the masses of the sixth corps; and the French batteries opened, as the English troops mounted the steep ascent on which the convent was situated.'

Ney was now anxious to make an immediate onset; but Massena was ten miles in the rear at Mortagao, and the only favorable opportunity of success was lost; for the troops of general Leith were but now crossing the river, general Hill's division had not closed up, and only 25,000 men were in line on a sierra extending eight miles. On the twenty-sixth, both Ney and Regnier wrote to the prince of Essling intimating their desire to attack: every thing however was to await his arrival; and he did not reach the field till noon, bringing with him the eighth corps: but the situation of his opponents was greatly altered; the whole sierra was glittering with bayonets, the troops posted in the most advantageous positions, the mountain sides covered with skirmishers, and fifty pieces of artillery placed among projecting rocks, which in some instances formed natural batteries. Ney was now averse to attack; but Massena was resolved, if possible, to force the British position, relying on the numbers, valor, and discipline of his troops.

Very early on the morning of the twenty-seventh, the French columns were put in motion; three, under Ney, opposite to the convent; and two, under Regnier, against the pass of St. Antonio de Cantara, the defence of which was principally entrusted to the third division, commanded by general Picton. At this latter post, a short time before dawn, a sharp fire of musketry was heard; and soon afterwards fourteen pieces of cannon opened from an opposite height, to cover the advance of a heavy column as it attempted to force the defile: but so incessant a fire was kept up on their flank by the light corps of the division, the seventy-fourth regiment, and a Portuguese battalion in front, that no efforts could succeed; and they were ultimately compelled to retire in great confusion. During the most critical period, however, a strong column penetrated on the left of the division close to the hill of Busacos, which was occupied by the eighty-eighth, and four companies of the forty-fifth: the combat here was very unequal; and the enemy, having gained the rocky heights, was on the point of securing the position, when Picton, leaving the defence of the pass to colonel Mackinnon, galloped toward the left, where he found the eighty-eighth, and the light companies of the seventy-fourth, retiring in disorder before the overwhelming masses: with some difficulty he succeeded in rallying those

troops; when the gallant major Smith, placing himself at their head, made a desperate charge on the foe; while Picton himself headed a battalion of the eighth Portuguese regiment, brought up by major Birmingham at a very critical moment: this joint attack was eminently successful; the French, fatigued by previous efforts, were driven over the rocks; and down they went headlong, leaving the mountain side strewn with carcasses and arms. On Picton's return to the pass, he found it resolutely maintained; and when Leith's brigade advanced to his assistance, he ordered it to march on by the rear toward the left, where it arrived in time to join five companies of the forty-fifth under lieutenant-colonel Mead, and the eighth Portuguese regiment under lieutenant-colonel Douglas, in repelling the last attempt of the enemy at that point.¹⁰

Ney's attack on the light division, farther to the left, had no better success: the ascent here was even more steep and dangerous than the pass which had foiled Regnier; while Craufurd had made a masterly disposition of his forces.

The French marshal pushed forward two divisions of the sixth corps, the one under Loison, and the other commanded by Marchand; himself keeping the third in reserve: the first of these, headed by general Simon's brigade, ascended the mountain with astonishing celerity, though penetrated from front to rear by shot from colonel Ross's artillery, and plied incessantly by musketry from the light troops: their impetuosity however could not be withstood; the British skirmishers rushed back over the edge of the summit, the artillery was withdrawn, and cries of victory were heard from the advancing columns: at this moment Craufurd, who had been intently watching the progress of the attack, ordered the forty-third and fifty-second regiments, that were concealed from view by the hollow ground, to advance: a loud shout startled their assailants, among whom a close volley was poured with terrible effect: a rapid charge, which followed, sent 1000 British bayonets over the brow of the mountain; when 'the enemy, unable to retreat, and afraid to resist, were rolled down the steep like a torrent of hailstones urged by a tempestuous wind.'¹¹ the main body of the British refrained from pursuit; but several companies, which descended after the fugitives, were driven back by the reserve. Marchand's division, which followed the main road, broke into masses; gained a pine wood half-way up the mountain; and sent the

¹⁰ Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 252.

¹¹ Lord Londonderry's History of the Peninsular War.

light troops toward the highest part: but the difficulty of ascent was so great, that general Pack held the enemy in check; the guards, about half a mile higher up, under general Spencer, cut off all hope of success; and the fire of Craufurd's artillery, after the defeat of Loison, flanked the main body of the French in the pine wood. Ney, who was there in person, having sustained the murderous contest for an hour, finally retired; and thus, after prodigious efforts of valor, and a loss of near 5000 men in killed and wounded, the French were unable to force this position, the defence of which cost the allied forces not more than 1300: the Portuguese troops behaved so well in this action, that the commander-in-chief declared them worthy of contending in the same ranks with British soldiers.

As it was expected that Massena would renew his attempt on the twenty-eighth, every preparation was made in the British line to give him another warm reception; but the result of yesterday's conflict had taught him a severe lesson; and by means of a peasant, he had discovered a pass through the Sierra de Caramula, on the British left, leading into the high road to Coimbra, by which the position might be turned: through this defile the French commander hoped to reach that place before lord Wellington; and to cover his movement, the skirmishing was renewed with great vigor and activity; nor was this project apparent before evening, when the enemy's masses in front were sensibly diminished, and his cavalry descried winding over the distant mountains: Hill's division then crossed the Mondego, to retire on Thomar; while the centre and left wing defiled in the night along the other roads on Milheada, in the route to Coimbra. Massena vainly hoped, by a rapid movement, to reach this city before the British army; on the first of October he attacked its outposts, and drove them from the hills bounding the plain of Coimbra to the north; a skirmish of cavalry took place, in which fifty or sixty fell on both sides, and some of our men were cut down in the very midst of the river: this obliged the light division, which formed the rear-guard, to move hastily through the city, in order to gain the defiles of Condeixa; and then ensued one of the most dreadful scenes of distress witnessed during this cruel war. The vile regency had neglected to enforce lord Wellington's instructions; and the people had neither driven away their cattle, nor moved their corn and other property, nor destroyed their mills: deceived by their own vain hopes, they remained till the rapid advance of the enemy, and the sudden retreat

of the allies, left them no time for preparation, and very little for escape. 'Then,' says lord Londonderry, 'a crowd of men, women, and children, of the sick, the aged, and the infirm, as well as the young and robust, covered the roads and fields in every direction: mothers might be seen, with infants at their breasts, hurrying toward the capital, and weeping as they went; old men, scarcely able to totter along, made their way, chiefly by the aid of sons and daughters; while the whole road soon became strewn with bedding, blankets, and other species of household furniture, which the weary fugitives were unable to carry farther.'

At the entrance of the bridge the press was so great, that our troops were obliged to halt for a few moments just under the prison: the jailer had fled with the keys; and the prisoners, crowding to the windows, were endeavoring to tear down the bars with their hands, and even with their teeth, bellowing in the most frightful manner; while the bitter lamentations of the multitude increased, and the pistol shots of the cavalry engaged at the ford were heard. Captain William Campbell, an officer on Craufurd's staff, broke open the prison doors, while the troops forced a passage over the bridge; but the defiles beyond it were so crowded, that no effort could make a way, even for the artillery; and if a single regiment of French infantry had come up, all must have been destroyed: at last, a passage was opened on the right flank for the guns; but it was nearly dark when the division reached Condeixa: head quarters were that night at Redinha, and next day at Leiria: both at this place, and at Condeixa, the troops began to plunder, and all the disorders of a retreat had already commenced; but three men, taken in the fact at Leiria, were hanged on the spot; and other vigorous measures restored order, while a contrary line of conduct, pursued by Massena, was very injurious to the discipline of his troops: the utmost license was permitted to them at Coimbra, and the time so wasted, from the first to the fourth of October, destroyed every advantage gained by their rapid march.

The prince of Essling had scarcely quitted the city, when Trant, Miller, and Wilson, whose independent corps always hovered round the contending armies, closed on his rear; occupying the sierras on both sides of the Mondego, and cutting off all communication with Almeida. On the evening of the fourth, the French drove the British piquets from Pombal, and next morning pushed on so suddenly to Leiria, as to create considerable confusion; but after some hard fighting in

the defiles, that city was cleared, and our army continued its retreat; the right by Thomar and Santarem, the centre by Bytalha and Rio Mayor, the left by Alcobaça and Obidos: while a strong Portuguese force was thrown into Peniche. In the mean time, Massena having left his sick and wounded in Coimbra, without a sufficient garrison to protect them, colonel Trant made an attack on that city: about 600 French troops, rallying round the hospital, made a desperate resistance, being supported by such of the invalids within as could crawl to the windows, and use their muskets: at length, finding resistance vain, they surrendered as prisoners of war; and nearly 5000 men were conducted by the colonel to Oporto.

This disaster did not induce Massena to make any alteration in his movements, which he so accelerated, that in Alcoeuvre he was very near intercepting the British brigade of artillery, the retreat of which was gallantly defended by the sixteenth regiment and the Royals. At Alemquer also, the light division, under general Craufurd, was overtaken on the ninth: great confusion ensued; and if his soldiers had not been among the best that were ever collected under a standard, great losses would have occurred. False information respecting their dispersion having reached general Hill at Alhandra, he thought it expedient to make a retrograde movement, in order to protect the passes at Arruda; so that when the enemy was in full march against the lines, the front from Alhandra to Sobral, a distance of about nine miles, was totally unguarded: Hill, however, whose caution, vigilance, and discretion throughout the whole peninsular campaign were above all praise, quickly ascertained the truth, and regained his former position before daybreak on the eleventh. Soon afterwards, the whole army was safely disposed behind those impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, the formation of which have conferred as much honor on their projector as any of the great victories which he achieved: they consisted of three distinct ranges of defence; the first, extending from Alhandra on the Tagus, to the mouth of the Zizandre on the sea-coast, in length about twenty-nine miles; the second, varying from six to ten miles in rear of the front, stretched from Quintella on the Tagus, to the mouth of the San Lorenza, twenty-four miles in length; the third, intended to cover a forced embarkation, extended from Passo d'Arcos on the Tagus, to the tower of Junquera on the coast, and enclosed within them an intrenched camp, strongly fortified, to protect the point of

embarkation: of these stupendous works, the second line was the most formidable, as presenting a shorter range of defence, better salient points, and fewer passes for artillery; secured also by steeper acclivities, stronger forts, heavier guns, and more powerful abattis: the first line was chiefly intended to check the enemy, and enable the army to occupy the second without hurry or confusion: but while Massena had wasted the season of action on the frontier, the first had acquired so much strength by the skill of British engineers, and the fall of rain, that Wellington determined to fix his station in the front: his head-quarters were at Pero Negro, near the Secorra, a rock on which a telegraph was erected, communicating with every part of the line.

The troops by which these defences were manned did not amount to much less than 130,000; of which 70,000 were regulars, and half of them were British: the remainder was composed of Portuguese and Spaniards; the latter, a wretched crew under Romana; but the former, well officered, and animated by a better spirit: the opposing force was not numerically equal to that for the defence; but it consisted wholly of veteran troops, well disciplined, and accustomed to the art of war. Surprised at the extent and strength of works, the existence of which had but very lately become known to him, Massena employed several days in examining their nature, and endeavoring to discover a spot where he might burst through: but he found every where difficulties not to be surmounted; and while the movements of the allies were free and unfettered, those of the French army were impeded and cramped by the ground in front; their dispositions were not made without the intervention of several skirmishes, of which that at Sobral, on the morning of the fourteenth, was the most important; when, attempting to dislodge the seventy-first regiment from a fieldwork, they were repulsed, pursued, and driven from their own intrenchments; which however were again evacuated at the approach of the eighth corps.

The war was now reduced to a species of blockade; the object of Massena being to support his army till reinforcements should arrive, and that of Wellington to starve his opponents before such an event could take place: for this purpose, he brought down the Portuguese militia from the north, and persuaded Carlos d'España to pass the Tagus with a considerable corps of Spaniards, to co-operate in cutting off all communication with the French rear, and, as it were, enclosing the blockaders. Massena soon began to send move-

able columns throughout the country, for provisions, and commenced the formation of magazines at Santarem; but the excesses of his soldiers had rendered the inhabitants bitter in their hatred; and though his foraging parties for a time contrived to procure a miserable sustenance, yet a thoughtless and wasteful expenditure soon exhausted the neighborhood, and they were obliged to extend their depredations over a wider range: then it was, that the independent corps of Portuguese and Spaniards sought revenge for desolated homes and slaughtered kindred; surprising and attacking the French in their expeditions, and slaying them with as little mercy as they had shown to others.

Within the lines, the state of our troops was totally different: free communications with the sea, and with their fleet, secured to them plenty of provisions; and, as the forts were chiefly garrisoned by native troops, their duty was comparatively light: officers and men therefore were permitted to enjoy the pleasures of rural life and of field sports in a most beautiful country; and as the weather was remarkably fine, the face of war never put on so cheerful an appearance: but too much time was not wasted in these enjoyments; new works were every day constructed, and the old ones strengthened, until the position became perfectly impregnable: nor was the discipline and instruction of our allies neglected; for every day saw improvements wrought among the Portuguese troops, of which their country subsequently reaped the benefit; and our commander soon had the satisfaction to perceive that he might place full confidence in their valor and exertions.

But while the two armies thus continued in a state of mutual observation, lord Wellington was exposed to difficulties and intrigues, which nothing but the resources of his great mind, and his imperturbable spirit, could have successfully combated. The presence of the enemy in the heart of the country, the destruction of property, and the influx of inhabitants into the district around the capital, created great distress and financial embarrassment; of which the vile faction of the patriarch took advantage to oppose all the measures both of lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart. Instead of performing their own duties, they had all along pretended to canvass the propriety of military operations: having assumed as a fact, that the struggle ought to have been maintained on the frontier, they had given little or no assistance to the British general; and now they not only endeavored to stimulate public hatred against him, as the author of all the national misery; but esta-

blished a regular and systematic opposition to his plans of defence.

In addition to this source of annoyance, representations were sent home by British officers of high rank, respecting the gloomy state of affairs, which operated strongly on the fears of the cabinet; their correspondence was very properly transmitted by lord Liverpool to the commander-in-chief, and his opinion on it earnestly demanded.

‘Thus beset on every side,’ says the peninsular historian, ‘the English general rose like a giant.’ Without noticing the arguments or forebodings in these letters, he entered into a calm review of the grounds on which he had undertaken the defence of Portugal; and having shown, that, up to the present period, his views had been in every instance borne out by the result, he reasonably asked that confidence should be placed on his judgment regarding future operations; the probable course of which he proceeded to trace with an intuitive sagacity, to which events corresponded in a most remarkable manner. Having replied, with conscious superiority of genius, to his own government, he next turned to the vile regency of Portugal; and, after severely reproaching them for their unpatriotic and deceitful conduct, he threatened to withdraw the British army from their country, unless the practices of which he complained were amended: with regard to his own plans, he asserted, ‘that the king of England, and the prince regent of Portugal, had entrusted him with the conduct of military operations; and he would not suffer any person to interfere with them: he knew what to do, and would not alter his plans to meet the senseless suggestions of that regency: let the latter look to their own duties; let them provide food for their troops and people, while they preserve tranquillity in the capital.’

The violent temper however of the patriarch, and the base principles of the Souzas, would probably have defeated all the dispositions of our great commander, if lord Wellesley had not held a place at this juncture in the British cabinet: nothing but encouragement from Brazil was required to give full effect to the plots of the regency; and this most assuredly would not have been long wanting, but for the strenuous efforts made by the noble marquis in counteracting intrigues at the court of Rio Janeiro: by his means power was given to lord Wellington, which extended even to the removal of principal Souza from office; and of lord Strangford, the courtly British envoy, from Brazil: the subsidies were placed under the intire

control of himself and Mr. Stuart ; admiral Berkeley, as well as Mr. Stuart, was appointed to a place in the regency ; and Portugal was in a greater degree subjected to British superintendence and control. Although he was so strongly armed, lord Wellington removed no person from office ; but maintained a line of conduct, in which it is difficult to determine which was most admirable, his sagacity or his temper : still fresh embarrassments arose, not only from a deficiency of supplies for the Portuguese troops, and their consequent desertion ; but from the continued interference of the regency with military plans, the deplorable state of their finances, and their violent conduct toward their protectors. All these things occasioned serious apprehensions in the mind of our general, lest his antagonist might be able to retain his post until an overwhelming force should arrive to aid him : fortunately however the opinion which Massena had acquired from deserters respecting the vast strength of the British lines, added to sickness in his own army, the interception of convoys, and losses occasioned by the irregular troops in his rear, determined him to withdraw from a position which he had obstinately maintained, until the country for many leagues behind him was reduced to the state of a desert. Harassed and hopeless, toward the end of October he withdrew his hospitals and stores to Santarem : on the thirty-first, 2000 men forded the Zezere, to cover the construction of a bridge ; while general Foy, with a small escort, proceeded to France, for the purpose of carrying information of the state of affairs to the emperor. On the sixth of November, the bridge was destroyed by a flood : but it was speedily restored, and a second built higher up the river ; after which, Massena began his retrograde movements with great secrecy and caution ; and succeeded, with only a small loss, in concentrating his forces at Santarem. On the seventeenth, lord Wellington prepared to assail what he thought to be the rear-guard of a retreating army ; but Massena had no intention to fall back any farther : ‘ his great qualities,’ says colonel Napier, ‘ were roused by the difficulty of his situation ; he had carried off his army with admirable management ; and his new position was chosen with equal sagacity and resolution.’ He considered both the political and military effect of his present attitude : while he occupied Santarem he appeared to besiege Lisbon, where he encouraged the disaffected party, and also strengthened opposition in the British parliament : by placing Loison’s division in Golcgao, and covering its rich plain with the second corps, he obtained necessary supplies for his troops ;

while he expected momentarily to be joined by the ninth corps, which had been added to his command, together with various detachments, and a large convoy of provisions, which general Gardanne was escorting with 5000 troops from Ciudad Rodrigo; and it was calculated, that before the end of January the French army would obtain a reinforcement of more than 40,000 men. Lord Wellington's lines of defence, therefore, were still farther strengthened, and a chain of forts erected parallel to the Tagus: at his earnest request, also, 5000 men were ordered to join him from England, and three regiments from Sicily.

We must now briefly advert to events which took place in the vicinity of Cadiz. When the chain of French forts round the harbor was completed, and the flotillas at San Lucar, Santa Maria, Puerto Real, and Chiclana were ready for action, Soult repaired in person to San Lucar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir; and on the last night of October, he succeeded in eluding the British fleet, and safely conveying a flotilla into the canal of the Trocadero, where about 130 armed vessels and transports were now assembled: at the Trocadero point were immense batteries, and some enormous pieces of ordnance, called cannon-mortars, cast in Seville: these, being placed in slings, threw shells with such prodigious force as to range even over Cadiz, a distance of more than 5000 yards: but as they were partly loaded with lead to produce this effect, and their charge of powder was too small for a destructive explosion, they produced more alarm than mischief in the city. Soult's main design was to destroy the opposite fort of Puntales; then to pass the bay in his flotilla, and fix his army between the Isla de Leon and Cadiz. General Graham, who commanded there, although his force had been partly diminished by draughts to reinforce lord Wellington, took as active means as the miserable regency would permit, to strengthen the land defences; while admiral Keats drew thither all the armed craft from Gibraltar to augment the flotilla: but neither their entreaties, though warmly seconded by sir Henry Wellesley, the British ambassador, nor even the urgency of the danger, could overcome Spanish apathy; and the end of December approached, ere Graham, after many sharp altercations, could obtain permission to put the interior line of the Cortadura into such a state of defence, as would prevent a sudden and successful disembarkation of the enemy. But while Soult was meditating an attack, the events in Portugal counteracted his designs: the first instructions for a change of plan, sent to him

by Napoleon, were intercepted by the guerillas; but at the end of December duplicates arrived, requiring him to co-operate with Massena; and he repaired to Seville, carrying with him Latour Maubourg's cavalry and 5000 infantry: no specific operation however was pointed out; and such was lord Wellington's precaution, such also the activity of the *partidas*, that nothing was known respecting Massena at Seville; nor could any communication be effected between the two marshals. Under these circumstances, Soult, considering that Sebastiani was fully occupied, and that the blockade of Cadiz, together with the protection of Seville, would not permit a draught of more than 20,000 men to be made from his army, represented to the emperor, that with such a force he dare not penetrate into the Alentejo; which movement would oblige him to leave Olivenza and Badajos in his rear, with two Spanish corps under Ballasteros and Mendizabel; while Romana could bring 10,000 troops, without reckoning the British, against his front: he therefore demanded permission to besiege those two places; and Napoleon consented to his request: accordingly, after measures had been taken to secure Andalusia in his absence, Soult prepared a force of 16,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 54 guns, with all the necessary articles for a siege. As general Hill at this time was obliged to return home on account of ill health, a large body of Portuguese troops was incorporated with the British on the Tagus, and the command transferred to marshal Beresford, under whose orders also was the Spanish brigade of Carlos d'España stationed at Abrantes: his instructions were, to prevent the passage of the river; to intercept all communication between Massena and Soult; to join the main army by Vellada if in retreat, and by Abrantes if in advance: hence, fixing his head-quarters at Chamusca, he disposed his troops along the Tagus, from Almeyrim to the mouth of the Zezere. It is not necessary to notice all the attacks made by the irregular forces and Portuguese militia on French detachments, while each commander waited for reinforcements which might enable him to assume offensive operations: it could, however, have been no source of satisfaction to Massena, who was sent, as 'the favorite child of victory,' for the purpose of driving the British leopards into the sea, to see them crouched before him, ready to make the fatal spring, as soon as he should be obliged to turn his back on their position.

Our domestic annals this year were marked by the death of two distinguished individuals; Mr. Wyndham and lord Colling-

wood. The eloquence of the former rose nearer to that of Mr. Burke than any of his contemporaries; for he had an animated manner, and a fertile genius; his reading was extensive, his memory retentive, his intellect acute, and his mind very philosophical: his name will ever remain dear to the British soldier, on account of the bill for limited service, which he introduced into parliament. The noble admiral died in the discharge of those weighty and important duties, under which his bodily powers at last gave way: he had been repeatedly urged by his friends to surrender his command, and to seek that repose which was necessary to recruit his wasted strength; but his constant reply was, 'that his life was his country's, in whatever way it might be required of him:' he refused therefore to quit his post, until he should be regularly relieved; though he ventured at times to urge the necessity of his return on the admiralty's notice: but his services appeared so necessary to ministers,¹² that all his applications were disregarded, and the sacrifice even of life was demanded: it was cheerfully granted; and this incomparable man died at sea, not having resigned his command until he became incapable of enduring the slightest fatigue: his body was brought home, and buried in St. Paul's cathedral, by the side of that illustrious hero, whom he so well seconded on the glorious day of Trafalgar. His title became extinct at his death: for the only favor which he ever condescended to ask,—that those honors he had so nobly won might be continued in the female line—was denied by ministerial and courtly ingratitude!

The British government having found it expedient to send an envoy to the court of Persia, an ambassador from the schah was on the seventeenth of January presented with great ceremony to the queen, into whose hands he delivered presents,

¹² So high was the opinion entertained of his judgment, that he was consulted from all quarters, and on all occasions, on questions of general policy, of regulations, and even of trade.—Life of Collingwood, vol. ii. p. 409. 'Lord Collingwood and I,' said lord chancellor Eldon, soon after the battle of Trafalgar, 'are memorable instances of the blessings to be derived from the country of our birth and the constitution under which we live. He and I were class-fellows at Newcastle: we were placed at that school *because neither his father nor mine could afford to place us elsewhere*; and now, if he returns to take his seat in the house of lords, it will be my duty to express to him, sitting in his place, the thanks of that house (to which neither of us could expect to be elevated) for his eminent services to his country.'—Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 118.

consisting of three boxes of jewels, several splendid shawls, and a curious carpet. Soon after the battle of Eylau, Bonaparte had sent general Gardanne as French envoy to the Persian court: this embassy, according to de Bourrienne,¹³ though it related more immediately to a diversion against the eastern provinces of Russia, was connected with ideas which the French emperor had entertained at the very dawn of his power: he wished to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic dominions. 'Circumstances, however,' says the historian, 'did not permit Napoleon to give it all the importance he desired: he contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.' On the third of July, lord Grenville was installed chancellor of the university of Oxford, having carried his election to that high office against two competitors, lord chancellor Eldon and the duke of Beaufort.¹⁴ This year serious apprehensions began to be entertained, on account of the quantity of gold coin sent out of the kingdom: persons were employed to purchase it at a price far beyond its intrinsic value; and indictments against some who sold guineas at this rate, were laid in the court of king's bench: the counsel however of those who were found guilty took legal objections to the verdict, subject to the opinion of the judges. The amount of Bank paper in circulation on the twelfth of January this year, was £14,668,640 in notes of five pounds, and above that sum; £5,854,170 in notes below five pounds; and £884,120 in Bank post bills.

¹³ Vol. iii. p. 63.

¹⁴ 'After it was fully understood,' says lord Eldon, 'that the duke of Beaufort had refused to be a candidate, and some of his nearest connections had canvassed for me, he has become a candidate: this makes confusion more confused; but I shall stand it out, as I have consented to stand—for I cannot be made a fool of with my own consent; and therefore if the duke of Beaufort and I go to the wall, and Grenville succeeds, my consolation is that I am not to blame.' His biographer observes, that 'when this contest was in progress the tenure of the ministry seemed by no means secure; and the apparent probability that lord Grenville might become the leader of a government, whose chancellor would not be lord Eldon, had a strong operation on the 'independent' or trimming voters of Oxford: but the whigs conducted the struggle with their accustomed zeal and activity.'—*Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 109. The king is reported to have said, at the end of the contest:—'it is hard for Cambridge to have a unitarian chancellor, and Oxford a popish one.'

The records of the year were distinguished by the trial of a celebrated character, Mr. W. Cobbett, for what was denominated a libel on the German legion, which had been marched to Littleport in the isle of Ely to superintend the flogging of some British militiamen. The patriotic defendant was sentenced to a fine of £1000, and two years' imprisonment in Newgate; an award, which tended neither to mitigate the acrimony of that caustic writer's attacks on his political adversaries; nor to stop his humane exertions against a system, under which so much cruelty and injustice has been, and even still is, perpetrated.

CHAPTER LII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1811.

Opening of parliament by the regent—His sentiments regarding the present cabinet, &c.—Distress of the times—Subject of military discipline—Report of the bullion committee—Conduct of lord King, and consequent resolution of parliament—Lord Sidmouth's motion respecting dissenting preachers—Affairs of the Irish catholics—Amendment of the criminal law—Restoration of the duke of York—Disturbances in Ireland; and of the manufacturing districts in England—Dreadful murders in London—General state of Europe and America—Affairs of Spain—Soul's invasion of Estremadura—Siege of Badajos—Movement in Andalusia, leading to the battle of Barosa, &c.—Fall of Badajos—Massena's retreat from Santarem commences—Lord Wellington's pursuit—Quarrel between Massena and Ney—Massena crosses the frontier—Almeida invested by the British—Lord Wellington sets off to visit marshal Beresford in Estremadura—Operations of the British army about Badajos—Wellington's return to his army in the north—Massena's advance—Battle of Fuentes Onoro—Massena resigns the command to Marmont—Lord Wellington sets out for Badajos—Operations of marshal Beresford in that quarter—Soul's advance from Andalusia—Battle of Albuera—Wellington's arrival—Attack on Badajos, which fails—Positions of the British and French armies—Soul and Marmont retire—French operations in Catalonia and Valencia, &c.—Lord Wellington's position with regard to the Portuguese government—His resolute but judicious conduct—Returns to his army on the Coa—Grievances which he endured—Advance of Marmont—Combat of El Bodon—Subsequent movements, and investment of Ciudad Rodrigo—Remarkable exploit of sir Rowland Hill at Arroyo Molino—Suchet's operations, capture of Murviedro, and investment of Valencia—Naval victory of captain Hoste in the Adriatic—Action of captain Barrie in Sagone-bay—Of captains Ferris and Richardson at the mouth of the Garonne—Capture of French frigates off Madagascar—Conquest of Java—Election of a chancellor at Cambridge.

THE prince of Wales, having been installed regent, opened parliament, on the twelfth of February, by commission; a circumstance, which tended to confirm an opinion prevailing in some quarters, that he endured, rather than adopted, the

present administration. As the address did not provoke a division, none was attempted; but the minister replied to some observations of Mr. Whitbread in a manner that indicated full confidence in the security of his situation: in fact, the prince had already begun to withdraw his confidence from that party which had long been distinguished by the peculiar title of 'his friends,' and very readily acquiesced in the retention of power by the present cabinet. We often err in referring to a single cause actions that proceed from mixed motives; some have ascribed this change in the regent's sentiments to an 'impulse of filial duty and affection, which,' as he expressed himself in a letter to Mr. Perceval, 'led him to retain the services of that gentleman and his colleagues, lest any act of the regent might in the smallest degree interfere with the progress of the king's recovery:' others considered his decision as the result of indolent and sensual habit, leading him to deprecate change altogether; especially, since he calculated on a readier compliance with his desires from the men in office, than from the uncompromising spirit of lords Grey and Grenville: others again attributed the whole to an intrigue begun and carried on by Sheridan, who had long lost the confidence of his party, and who took this opportunity of gratifying both his vanity and revenge.¹ Probably each of these causes had more or less effect in determining the prince to preserve the cabinet: the nation in general applauded his resolution; since the opposition possessed more of parliamentary influence than of national support: the whigs had not yet learned to identify themselves with popular interests and privileges; and though they agreed in advocating the great cause of religious liberty, yet in this respect they had advanced beyond the opinions of the age; and their support of the catholic question tended to alienate them from the affections of the people as well as of the sovereign: they still however held fast their opinion, that the present ministry would expire with the restrictions imposed on the regent; and, accordingly, they extolled his conduct, when, with a moderation not often adopted by princes, he declined a provision for his household, which Mr. Perceval intended to bring before parliament; declaring, that he would not add to the burdens of the country by any augmentation of his public state: had he persisted in such sentiments during the increasing difficulties of the times, posterity would have judged more favorably of his sincerity. In fact, commercial distress was now felt so severely,

¹ A full account of this affair is given in the second volume of Moore's Life of Sheridan.

as to attract the attention of government; and on the first of March, a committee of twenty-one members of the lower house was appointed to investigate the state of commercial credit: on the eleventh, their report was taken into consideration: and an act passed, empowering certain commissioners to employ £6,000,000 of the public money, in assisting such merchants as should be able to give security for the repayment of any sum advanced: still the distress continued to increase, and displayed itself by frightful lists of bankruptcies in every gazette; which were mainly attributed to the American embargo, to the operation of the Milan decrees, and to the confiscation of British property on the continent. In the course of this session, the subject of military punishment came several times before the house; and in speaking of the abominable excess to which this species of torture was carried, sir Francis Burdett nobly distinguished himself:—‘There were but few persons,’ said the honorable baronet, ‘who knew what was the dreadful manner in which this torture was inflicted: the instrument, formed of pieces of whipcord, each as thick as a quill, and knotted, was applied by the main strength of fresh men, relieving each other, until human nature could bear no more; and then, if pains were taken to recover the unhappy sufferer, it was only that he might undergo fresh agony. The most disgusting part of the whole transaction was the attendance of a surgeon, whose business seemed to be a profanation of the healing art; to detect any lingering principle of life, which could enable the wretched man to undergo more suffering: he did not believe, that in the description which the poets gave of hell, there were any tortures equal to what is called a military punishment.’ He also declared that the inefficacy of this infliction was not less remarkable than its cruelty; and he instanced the case of the fifteenth regiment of dragoons, which had been noted for its services in the field, and for its peaceable, modest, and proper demeanor at home, before the duke of Cumberland acquired the command! until that time, punishments in it had seldom been known; but it was a melancholy thing to state, that more cruel punishments took place within a few months after the appointment of his royal highness, than had occurred in that regiment since the period of the seven years’ war; yet the state of the men was one of turbulence and discontent. Sir Francis moved an address on the subject to the prince regent, which was ably seconded by Mr. Brougham, who contrasted the scandalous conduct of the duke of Cumberland with that of the duke of Gloucester, whose regiment was in the highest

state of discipline, though he had, in public orders, thanked his lieutenant-colonel for not having had a single flogging in it during two years and a half. Mr. Manners Sutton, judge-advocate, thought the statements he had heard were overcharged, though he admitted the importance of the subject: indeed he showed this, when he brought forward the mutiny bill; in which, greatly to his honor, he had introduced a clause, giving a discretionary power to courts martial of awarding a sentence of imprisonment instead of corporal punishment: for so barbarous were our military laws before this period, that no option lay between torture or death. Several other members spoke on both sides; but the house rejected the address by an immense majority. On another occasion, its members showed still less sympathy with the sufferings of their fellow-subjects, when a case of military torture, carried to an extreme totally inconsistent with the innate laws of human nature, was exposed by colonel Wardle: the sufferer in this instance was Curtis, a corporal in a militia regiment, who, having been charged with exciting discontent among the men on account of a deficiency of proper clothing, and of speaking disrespectfully of his colonel, was brought before a court-martial, which acquitted him of the first part of the charge, but found him guilty of the second, and sentenced him to receive one thousand lashes! At the time of its execution, he was stated to have been so sick and weak, as to require support while they tied him to the halberds: he then received 200 strokes, inflicted with extreme severity; and was confined to the hospital, under the endurance of excruciating agony, from the fifth of August to the fourteenth of November; when he had the option of undergoing the rest of this horrible sentence, or of serving in a condemned regiment for life in the West Indies; and rather than expire under the lash, he chose the latter alternative. Alas! the only person found to vote with colonel Wardle for inquiry into this case, was colonel Langton, commander of the regiment in which Curtis had served; and who, being in his place as member of the house, stated his conviction, that he had done nothing that was not absolutely necessary for military discipline. This infamous apathy of their representatives necessarily tended to increase the desire of parliamentary reform among the people.

The report of the bullion committee was taken into consideration on the sixth of May; when a series of resolutions was moved by Mr. Horner, who contended that the standard value of gold, as a measure of exchange, could not fluctuate, though

its real price was subject to the variation arising from an increase or diminution of supply ; that bank paper, measured by this standard, was so depreciated, as to render our continental exchanges unfavorable, and to advance prices, occasioning great losses to creditors, and injuring all incomes which depended on money payments ; while the only effectual remedy for these evils was the resumption of cash payments by the Bank. Mr. George Rose however had the hardihood to contend that the paper currency was not depreciated ; that Bank issues could not affect the circulation ; that the resumption of cash payments would not bring back to that circulation a single guinea ; that the political and commercial relations of this country with foreign states were sufficient to account for the unfavorable state of the exchanges ; and that, although it might be expedient to remove the restrictions on cash payments whenever it was compatible with the public interest ; yet to fix a definite period, nearer than six months after the conclusion of peace, would be a measure extremely dangerous. A series of counter resolutions, founded on these reasonings, was brought forward by Mr. Vansittart, secretary of the treasury, and adopted, after repeated discussions, by a large majority : it soon appeared, however, that the question was not to be set at rest by this decision : the depreciation of the paper currency became progressive ; the difference between bank notes and gold coin began to be felt in the market price of all commodities ; and lord King, being determined to bring the matter to an issue, sent notices to his tenants, that, as they had agreed to pay their rents in good and lawful money of Great Britain, and as he would no longer accept of bank notes at their nominal value, he expected them to pay either in guineas, or in an equivalent weight of Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes sufficient to purchase it at the market price. ‘I saw,’ said his lordship in the house of lords, ‘no course left but to give up my property ; or to hold it at such value as the Bank might choose to put on it ; or to avail myself of the means which the law as yet afforded me for its preservation.’ Lord Stanhope, anticipating much mischief from this proceeding, introduced a bill into the house of lords, prohibiting the payment of gold coin at a higher value than that fixed by the Mint, and the receipt of bank notes for a smaller sum than that for which they were issued : on its first reading, this bill was opposed by ministers as unnecessary ; but on the second, they discovered their error, and it passed into a law.

On the twentieth of May, Mr. Perceval brought forward his budget : to meet the current expenses of the year, including £2,000,000 granted to the government of Portugal, and £100,000 to its distressed subjects, a supply of £54,308,450 was required ; and the means of answering this demand were drawn from the surplus of the consolidated fund, a loan of £12,000,000, an additional vote of credit, and the war taxes, to which an increase was made by duties on timber, foreign linens, and pearl ashes : a proposed tax on American cotton wool was abandoned ; strong opposition being made to the principle of taxing a raw material.

The debates of this session, relating to matters of religion, excited considerable interest. A great sensation was raised among the dissenters by a bill which lord Sidmouth introduced, as an amendment of the toleration act ; prohibiting any person from obtaining a license to preach, unless he obtained the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged, such congregation being willing to listen to his instructions : it also required that those who intended to be itinerants should bring testimonials, stating that they were men of sober life and character, and qualified to perform the functions to which they aspired. At first sight, this bill appeared calculated to effect much good, in preventing improper and unaccredited persons from assuming the most important of all duties : but as it was considered liable to be perverted to purposes of intolerance, it encountered vehement opposition : in forty-eight hours 336 petitions against it were poured into the house of lords, where it was strongly denounced by lord Holland ; and when it came to be read a second time, it was met by 500 more petitions, and rejected without a division.

As an opinion prevailed among the Irish catholics that the prince was favorable to their claims, his investment with power contributed to increase their activity and zeal : one of the measures which they had proposed was the establishment of a general committee in Dublin, composed of delegates elected by each county ; but this being deemed unlawful, Mr. Wellesley Pole, the Irish secretary, sent a circular letter to the sheriffs and county magistrates, requiring them to arrest all persons engaged in such elections. This letter excited much discussion in parliament ; when Mr. Pole stated, in explanation, that the committee was not intended, like that of 1809, to confine itself to the business of petitioning ; but undertook the management of catholic affairs generally, and imitated in some respects the

forms of the house of commons: the opinion of the great law officers had been taken by the lord lieutenant; and the attorney-general had drawn up the circular. Petitions prepared by the committee were presented to both houses: that in the commons was enforced by Mr. Grattan with his usual brilliancy of eloquence and seconded by Mr. Ponsonby; but the minister, defying the accusation of bigoted intolerance, strongly opposed any grant of power to men whom he thought likely to abuse it; and the petition was rejected by a hundred and forty-six voices against eighty-three: it shared the same fate in the lords, where the bishop of Norwich differed with the majority, from a desire to promote the public good by a union of talents, and from a conviction that the claims of the petitioners might be safely granted.

The statutes of the session were, as usual, more numerous than important: two of the number may be mentioned as possessing greater interest than the rest, since they tended to diminish, in the instances of stealing linen and cotton from fields and outbuildings, that long list of offences, to which our law assigned the punishment of death: this mitigation of the criminal code was due to the exertions of sir Samuel Romilly. Three other bills of a similar tendency, brought in by the same enlightened legislator, were passed by the commons, but thrown out in the other house, through deference to the opinion of its law lords; men, not always the most competent to determine on the reform of law, although they may be its best expounders.

A select committee of the upper house to inquire into delays and arrears in the Court of Chancery, as well as the appellate tribunal of the house of lords, had made its report on the thirtieth of May, declaring that there were depending 296 appeals, and 42 writs of error; recommending also the appointment of an additional judge in chancery. On the fifth of June a similar committee was granted by the commons; which took evidence respecting arrears, but found the remains of time of this session insufficient for the object of its appointment: it therefore stood over till next year.

One of the earliest acts of the prince, after his assumption of the regency, was to restore the duke of York to the post of commander-in-chief: this measure induced lord Milton to propose a vote of censure on its responsible advisers; in which he was supported by sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, and lord Althorp. Mr. Perceval readily acknowledged the responsibility of ministers regarding the measure in question; but

contended, that when sir David Dundas expressed a wish to retire, they could have no hesitation respecting the person whom they should recommend to supply his place : the eminent services rendered to the army by the duke of York left them no choice ; especially, as no resolution had passed to preclude his restoration. It appeared that a reaction in favor of his royal highness had taken place within as well as without the house : several members expressed regret on account of their former votes ; and Mr. Ponsonby himself, the leader of Opposition, voted against the motion, which was negatived by an immense majority. His majesty's health, in the early part of the year, underwent some slight variations, with lucid, or rather, tranquil intervals ; but the report of the queen's council, a few days before the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the twenty-fourth of July, put an end to all hopes of his resuming the functions of royalty.

The rejection of the petition from the Roman catholics of Ireland, and more especially the secretary's circular, called forth much excitement and energy among that large body of British subjects : on the ninth of July, a meeting was held in Dublin, at which resolutions were passed to form a committee, consisting of all catholic peers, and their eldest sons, baronets, and prelates, with ten delegates from each county, in order to prepare petitions for the repeal of the penal laws, and to keep up communication and co-operation among themselves. In consequence, a proclamation was issued by the Irish government, quoting a section of the convention act, and declaring its intention to enforce legal penalties against such persons as should proceed to elect deputies, managers, or delegates to the catholic committee : on the day following, however, the general committee was held in Capel-street, the earl of Fingal being in the chair ; and a resolution was passed, purporting, that the committee, relying on their constitutional rights, and conscious that they were not transgressing the laws, were determined to persevere in meeting for the sole purpose of petitioning ; after which, conceiving that the convention act did not apply to their case, they proceeded, as if they imagined the Irish government would not act on its own proclamation : in this, however, they were mistaken ; for on the ninth of August, five gentlemen, who were present at the election of delegates in Liffey-street chapel, were arrested, and carried before the chief justice of the king's bench, on the charge of being elected delegates, or of being present and aiding at such election.

In the mean time, the general committee of 300 delegated

catholics met on the nineteenth of October, within the Circus at Dublin, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators; when, lord Fingal being called on to preside, the draught of a petition to parliament was proposed by lord Netterville, and adopted by the assembly: the chair was vacated, the meeting dissolved, and the members began to disperse in little more than a quarter of an hour: two magistrates then made their appearance; but, under such circumstances, were unable to act. On the twenty-first of November, the trial of Dr. Sheridan, one of the five arrested delegates, came on; and the public mind in Ireland waited the event with feelings of intense anxiety: thirty-three jurymen answered to their names; of whom, twenty-two were challenged by the crown, but none by the traverser. The case turned essentially on the construction of a single sentence; the convention act declaring certain meetings, called together under the 'pretence' of petitioning, to be illegal; whereas it was contended, in this instance, that petitioning was not a pretence, but the real purpose. The attorney-general maintained, that, in a legal point of view, the terms were synonymous; and the chief justice coinciding with him in opinion, summed up his charge decidedly adverse to the accused: the jury, all protestants, took an hour and a half to consider their verdict; and no language, it is said, could describe the anxiety manifested by the crowds in court, in the hall, and in all the avenues leading to the seat of justice: when they returned, there was a deep silence for almost a minute; and on a verdict of acquittal being delivered, a peal of applause rang through the court and galleries, which shook the judicial bench; and the overwhelming shouts of popular enthusiasm were heard over a great part of the city. The remaining prosecutions were abandoned, and the arrested persons commenced actions against the chief justice, by whose warrant they had been apprehended: a third meeting, however, of the catholic committee was dispersed on the twenty-third of December; and the chairmen, lords Fingal and Netterville, were arrested: but on the twenty-sixth, an aggregate assembly met, and passed a series of resolutions, denouncing as tyrannical, and defying as illegal, the acts of the Irish government; ordering, also, that a petition for the redress of grievances should be presented to the regent, at the expiration of his restrictions.

England, at this time, was far from tranquil, especially in its manufacturing districts; where a spirit of licentiousness, and daring defiance of the laws, gave origin to that system of outrage, which led, in the following year, to the formidable riots

of the Luddites. This began among the stocking-weavers of Nottinghamshire, who found so little employment for their industry, that they were reduced to a state of extreme indigence: attributing this to the newly-invented frames, which, by diminishing manual labor, lessened the demand for their exertions, and asserting that many masters offered wages too low for their support, they assembled in crowds, and proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the obnoxious machinery: they then entered into correspondence with discontented manufacturers in other counties, whom they exhorted to redress their grievances by a spirited combination. The metropolis was terrified this winter by murders of the most dreadful description in the neighborhood of Wapping: the atrocious and unparalleled nature of those acts, the secrecy with which they were committed, and the extreme difficulty of tracing the perpetrators by the utmost vigilance and activity of the police, made a singular impression on the public mind: many thought that the very character of the British nation was changed; that a regular system of murder and assassination was laid, and would, as opportunities occurred, be acted on; so that, under this general and undefined alarm, rest fled from the pillow of thousands; and individuals, despairing of assistance from society, began to take measures for self-protection. The circumstances that led to this state of public feeling were briefly these: on the eighth of December, the family of Mr. T. Marr, silk-mercier, 29, Ratcliffe-highway, consisting of himself, his wife, an infant son only fourteen weeks old, and an apprentice, were all found murdered: the servant girl, having been sent out on Saturday night, at twelve, to purchase some oysters for supper, and to pay a baker's bill, returned in about twenty minutes, and found the shutters closed, the door fast, and no appearance of light within: having alarmed some neighbors, the door was burst open; and it is supposed that the murderer or murderers then escaped at the back of the premises: nothing was taken from the house, although £152 in cash were found in a tin box, beside four or five pounds in Mr. Marr's pockets; there was left behind a large shipwright's maul, a ripping chisel of iron eighteen inches long, and a wooden mallet with the head about four inches square. Before the alarm excited by this horrid crime had subsided, between eleven and twelve at night on the nineteenth, the neighborhood of New Gravel-lane was alarmed by a cry of murder from a person descending in his shirt from an upper window of the King's Arms public house, kept by a Mr. Williamson: he was a lodger; and de-

posed before the magistrates, that, after he had retired to rest, he was roused by a voice crying out, 'We shall all be murdered:' after this, he cautiously went down stairs; and, looking through the glass window of the tap-room, saw a powerful, well-made man, dressed in a shaggy great-coat, stooping over the body of Mrs. Williamson, apparently rifling her pockets; while his ears were assailed by the deep groans of a person, as in the agonies of death. Terrified beyond measure, he made his way up stairs again, and escaped as above mentioned: when he gave the alarm, two resolute men broke open the door, and found the mistress of the house and the maid servant, lying one on the other near the kitchen fire, with their throats cut from ear to ear: continuing their search, they proceeded to the cellar, where they found Mr. Williamson, also quite dead, one of his legs being broken, and his head nearly severed from the body; having evidently made a determined resistance: the assassins however had again escaped, being favored by an extensive piece of waste ground behind the premises. Large rewards, amounting to nearly £1500, for the discovery of the murderers, were offered by government, and other public bodies: several persons were taken up on suspicion; and very strong evidence was adduced against an Irish sailor, named John Williams. This man lodged at the Pear-tree public-house, from which the very maul used in the massacre of the Marr family had been missing: a woman, who washed his linen, deposed to one of his shirts having been bloody and torn; other witnesses proved that he was near Williamson's house on the night of the murder, and that he was well acquainted with both families; while John Harris, a fellow-lodger, deposed to his coming home about one o'clock on the night of the first murder; and to some other circumstances, strongly tending to fix on him the guilt of both. On this evidence, the prisoner was committed to Coldbath-fields prison; but he defeated the ends of justice, by hanging himself with his own neckcloth, from the rail within his cell, on which the bed and clothes are placed in the day time. A coroner's verdict of *felo de se* being returned, the body of this supposed miscreant was exposed on a raised platform; and, having been paraded round the neighborhood, amid the execrations of the populace, was consigned to the earth, at a place where four roads meet, with all the circumstances of ignominy due to such atrocious crimes. Blame was justly imputed to those who had the custody of Williams; and the public alarm did not subside for a considerable length of time.

From occurrences at home, we must now revert to the state of Europe. Persevering in his efforts to destroy the commerce of England, Bonaparte ordered the French flag to be hoisted at Hamburg on the first of January; and that city was now declared to be part of the French empire: the conscription law was applied to the levying of seamen in the thirty maritime departments, and many conscripts of the four ensuing years were destined to the service of the navy: at Antwerp, twenty ships of the line were ordered to be built, and the basin was rendered capable of containing fifty sail: Spanish prisoners were employed in the dock-yards and fortifications; and men of all nations were engaged to man the fleets with which Britain was to be subdued. On the twentieth of April, Napoleon's cup of prosperity seemed to be full, when a son was born to him; and the ancient title of 'king of Rome' was revived for this infant, apparently destined to rule over an empire more extensive than that of Charlemagne. With conscious pride, the emperor declared to his legislative body, that French dominion, during the last year, had been extended over sixteen departments, containing five millions of people; that the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, together with the whole course of the latter river, were now French; that improvements on a gigantic scale had taken place over the whole territory; while its finances were in such a state, that France could go on ten years without borrowing money. Yet, at this moment, the French people, having lost all their colonies, were substituting roasted horse-beans for coffee, and extracting sugar from beet-root! Accompanied by his young empress, Napoleon visited Ostend, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, where he announced the division of the departments of Holland, and their proportion of the annual expenses: he also established two academies, and several schools, in which the French language was to be taught: but when he returned to Paris, in the beginning of November, he found it necessary to call out 120,000 conscripts of the year 1812: he now felt that a rupture with Russia, offended by the seizure of Oldenburg, the extension of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the continued occupation of Dantzic, had become inevitable; while all the cabinets of Europe were anxious to break their fetters, and the people ardently desired an order of things less fatal to their industry and trade. For some time it had been apparent that the cordiality between the two emperors had greatly decreased; when Napoleon, in an answer to his council of commerce, complained that Russia had not caused

his decrees to be respected; adding, 'I am, and always will be, master of the Baltic:' yet, where, at that time, could Russian proprietors have found a market for timber, pitch, tallow, and hemp, almost the sole produce of their vast estates, except in England? and where was the power, by which Alexander might control the aristocracy of his unwieldy empire? If the continental system, therefore, of Napoleon was to be maintained, it became necessary for him to reduce Russia to the same degree of dependency in which Prussia and Austria were held: how else could he expect to complete his vast design of universal dominion.

While the czar was thus preparing for a contest with France, the government of the North American states was proceeding toward the same issue with Great Britain. Our orders in council not having been repealed in February, Mr. Pinckney, the American envoy, was recalled, and had his audience of leave on the first of March; from which time the American ports were opened to the ships of France, and closed against those of England. An encounter, which soon afterwards took place between the *Little Belt*, a British sloop of war, and the *President*, an American frigate of the largest class, seemed calculated to produce an immediate rupture: as great uncertainty however existed concerning the first shot fired, the governments of both nations felt disposed to pass over the affair. A British envoy extraordinary was sent to the United States on the other subjects of dispute; but he found it impossible to effect an adjustment, without exceeding his instructions, by holding forth an expectation that our orders in council would be revoked; and on the meeting of congress in November, the president recommended vigorous measures of preparation by sea and land, in consequence of the hostile inflexibility of the British cabinet.

For some time a fierce war had been going on between Russia and the Porte; but proposals were this year made by the grand vizir for an armistice; which, as Alexander had more serious negotiations now on his hands, was readily accepted. In Sweden, the crown prince, seeing that the measures which he had been obliged to adopt against British commerce were displeasing to the people, relaxed in that point, and consequently incurred the violent resentment of Napoleon: this led to repeated demands and proposals, which were declined; and early next year Swedish Pomerania and Rugen were occupied by French troops: Bernadotte, however, very adroitly took advantage of this crisis, not only to eman-

cipate Sweden from dependence on France; but also, without engaging actively in the war, to obtain a prospect of Norway as a compensation for the loss of Finland. Prussia at this time enjoyed repose; but it was the repose of degradation, while her king was reluctantly obliged to join the confederation of the Rhine. Austria was employed in recruiting her finances; the country being inundated with a paper currency, much depreciated: in Naples the French remained quiet, permitting her British allies to uphold the most detestable of tyrannies in Sicily: it appeared, however, that since the marriage of Bonaparte with a princess of Austria, the court of Palermo became less hostile to French interests; the profligate queen had lately employed a large portion of the subsidies sent by Great Britain for the defence of the island, in organising and supporting a strong party favorable to Napoleon, the enemy of her family, and the despoiler of her throne. Lord William Bentinck, our new ambassador, had scarcely landed, before he found the politics and plans of the court so inimical to his country that he judged it necessary to return home, in order to obtain fresh instructions; when he found the government inclined towards a forcible occupation of the island, as the only method of defeating the queen's machinations.

The chief interest connected with European affairs still attached itself to the peninsula. On the second of January, Suchet made himself master of Tortosa, after a siege which did honor to its defenders; and about the same time Soult led his army into Estremadura, where every precaution urged on the Spanish government and generals by lord Wellington had been totally neglected. Terror and confusion spread far and wide in the province: Badajos was ill-provisioned; Albuquerque in ruins; Olivenza nearly dismantled; and in the midst of this disorder, Ballasteros was drawn off toward the Condada de Neibla by the regency, who thus took from Estremadura half its defenders at the very moment of Soult's invasion: hence, when he came to invest Olivenza, Mendizabel was unable effectually to relieve it; and the place surrendered, with all its stores and ammunition, as well as 4000 effective troops, on the twenty-second of January: Ballasteros also was defeated, with a loss of 1000 men, at Castillejos; Copon's troops were recalled to Cadiz; and on the twenty-sixth, Soult marched against Badajos, having taken or dispersed in about twenty days all the forces which might have frustrated his designs. On the twenty-fourth died the marquis de la Romana, a man of patriotic spirit, although deficient in

military talent: his death at this period was a great loss to his country; as he had begun to lay aside that obstinate pride which prohibited success, and more willingly submitted to the dictates of that great captain who commanded the allies of Spain.

Mendizabel succeeded to his command in Estremadura, having previously received Romana's orders to adopt lord Wellington's plan: this was, to concentrate all the Spanish troops on the frontier; and, before the enemy appeared on the right bank of the Guadiana, to occupy a position of great natural strength near to Badajos, which might prevent Soult from investing that place, or even straitening its communications. 'With soldiers of any other nation,' said lord Wellington, 'success is certain: but no calculation can be made of any operation in which Spanish troops are engaged.'² The event proved the justness of his apprehension; for when Soult drove in the outposts of Badajos on the twenty-sixth, Mendizabel shut himself up with 6000 men in that fortress; but although a siege had been expected for a year, the place was unprovisioned: still it was impossible to execute the British general's plan; yet no Spaniard moved; and, on the twenty-seventh, Latour Maubourg, crossing the Guadiana at Merida, forded the Gebora, and cut off the communications of Campo Mayor and Elvas.

In the early part of this siege, the weather was so rigorous, and scarcity in the French camp so pressing, that those communications were soon re-opened: accordingly, Mendizabel, in the night of February fifth, repaired in person to Elvas; and, leaving the defence of Badajos to the governor Menacho, pitched his own camp round San Cristoval, a large fortress crowning a hill on the opposite bank of the Guadiana. In every point however he rejected the counsel of lord Wellington; and, having neglected all his defences, he was attacked by Soult, who, passing the Guadiana and Gebora river, fell on his army, and shamefully defeated it; strewing the field with 900 slain, and taking 8000 prisoners, with all the guns, ammunition, and baggage. In the evening after this action, the French marshal cast up intrenchments round the position which he had gained, and renewed the siege with redoubled vigor: but continual rains interrupted his convoys; many of his troops fell sick; and Badajos was still powerful, with a garrison of 9000 men, under a resolute and honorable com-

² Napier, vol. iii. p. 429.

mandant. No communication had yet been opened by Soult with Massena; and Wellington, in momentary expectation that his reinforcements would arrive, was anxious to bring on a crisis; when occurrences took place in Andalusia, which seriously menaced the French power in that province.

General Graham, who commanded at Cadiz, being aware of Soult's departure, and knowing also that the fifth corps had quitted Seville, concerted a plan with the Spaniards to drive marshal Victor out of his lines: for this purpose, 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry of the allies, being embarked at Cadiz, were landed, on the twenty-second of February, at Algeiras; whence they marched next day to Tarifa. General Zayas, who commanded the Spanish troops left in the Isla, was, in the mean time, directed to throw a bridge over the San Petri canal, near the sea shore; Ballasteros, with the remnant of his army, was ordered to menace Seville; several *partidas* were ready to act against Sebastiani; and insurrections were meditated in various other quarters.

The troops at Tarifa, being joined by a considerable British, German, and Portuguese force, were assembled under general Graham, a man of undaunted courage and true military talent: their numbers amounted to somewhat more than 4000; but 7000 Spaniards arrived on the twenty-seventh, under La Peña, the vilest of all those generals who blighted the hopes of their country, and to whom Graham, for the sake of unanimity, unfortunately ceded the chief command. Next day, these combined forces moved forward about twelve miles, in the direction of Medina Sidonia; and being now within four leagues of the enemy's posts, they were re-organised; the vanguard being given to general Lardizabal; the centre to the prince of Anglona; the reserve, composed of the British and two Spanish regiments, to Graham; the cavalry of both nations to colonel Whittingham, an English officer in the Spanish service.

The French covering division, consisting of three battalions and a regiment of horse, under general Cassagne, whose outposts were at Vejer de la Frontera and Casa Vieja, was stationed at Medina Sidonia; which city had been taken by the Spaniards, but retaken by the French, and intrenched on the twenty-ninth. The signal for action being now given, the French generals, perceiving the people ready for insurrection, concentrated their forces at different points; and Victor, having manned his lines before Cadiz with a mixed force, took post with 11,000 veteran troops near to Chiclana: there he

waited till his antagonists should develop their designs. At first, La Peña's march pointed to Medina; his vanguard stormed Casa Vieja on the second of March; and he was joined by troops from Algeiras, which brought his whole force up to 12,000 foot and 800 horse, with twenty-four guns. On the third, he resumed his march; but hearing that Medina was intrenched, he turned off toward the coast, driving the French from Vejer: next evening, he advanced in the same direction; and on the morning of the fifth, arrived at the heights of Barosa, a low ridge overlooking a small plain, bounded on his left by the coast, on his right by the forest of Chiclana, and in front by a large pine wood; beyond which rose the narrow height of Bermeja, extending from the Almanza creek to the sea.

The marches to this position had been very long and fatiguing, contrary to a promise made to Graham by La Peña; and before all came up, the Spanish commander, as if in contempt of his colleague, without disclosing to him any part of his plans, sent Lardizabal with the vanguard, reinforced by a squadron of horse and three guns, directly against the mouth of the San Petri; from the bridge of which Zayas had been driven back by the French into the Isla: it was a dangerous movement; but Lardizabal, after a sharp action, in which he lost 300 men, forced the enemy's posts, and effected a junction with Zayas. The British general was very desirous of holding the heights of Barosa, as a key both to offensive and defensive operations; but Lasey, chief of the Spanish staff, having opposed this plan, La Peña most uncourtously ordered Graham to move on, through the wood in front, to Bermeja: this command was instantly obeyed; the flank companies of the ninth and eighty-second regiments being left under major Brown to guard the baggage: but it was obeyed, under the full persuasion that La Peña would remain, with Anglona's division and the cavalry, at Barosa: especially as a Spanish detachment was still on the side of Medina: scarcely however had the British entered the wood when this dastardly wretch carried off all the troops toward the San Petri, directing the cavalry to follow by the coast road, and leaving the baggage on the Barosa heights, guarded only by five battalions and four guns. These movements were keenly watched by Victor in the forest of Chiclana, who felt so secure of victory, that he despatched his cavalry from Medina and Arcos toward Vejer and other places, for the purpose of intercepting the fugitives in their anticipated defeat: he had with him 9000 excellent troops, of the divisions

of Laval, Ruffin, and Villatte: from these he drew three grenadier battalions, for reserves; of which he attached two, and three squadrons of cavalry, to Ruffin's division, that formed his left wing; and the remaining one to Laval's which formed his centre: Villatte's force, of about 2500 men, was kept near a bridge on the Almanza creek, to cover the camp, and to watch the Spaniards at the San Petri and Bermeja.

As soon as Victor saw that Graham had entered the wood, he put his troops into rapid motion, directing Laval against the English; while he himself, with Ruffin's division, ascending the reverse side of Barosa, cut off the Spanish detachment that was on the road to Medina, and utterly dispersed the rear-guard left with the baggage on the heights. Major Brown, unable to stem the torrent, sent quickly to Graham for orders; when that energetic officer, as if inspired by the genius of military command, answered, 'that he was to fight;' and himself, instantly facing about, regained the plain, expecting to find La Peña, with the main body of the army and the cavalry, on the heights: but La Peña was nowhere to be seen; the rear-guard and baggage were flying in confusion toward the coast; while the heights were covered with Ruffin's division, and the French cavalry; and Laval was close on his own left flank. In this hazardous situation, a general who had hesitated would inevitably have been lost: not so with Graham; who resolved instantly to attack his opponents, though the key of the field of battle was in their possession.

Ten guns, under major Duncan, opened a terrific fire on Laval's column; while colonel A. Barnard, with the riflemen and Portuguese companies, running out to the left, commenced the engagement: the remainder of the British troops, without any attention to regiments or brigades, were formed into two masses; one of which, under general Dilke, marched hastily against Ruffin; and the other, under colonel Wheatley, moved toward Laval. While Duncan's guns thinned the French ranks, Laval's artillery replied vigorously; and Ruffin's batteries took Wheatley's column in flank, as the troops on each side passed onwards amid showers of musket balls: but when they came to close quarters, a rapid charge by the British overthrew the first French line, and drove it in confusion on the second, which was instantaneously broken in the same manner, and driven from the field.

Meanwhile, major Brown, on receiving his orders, had marched headlong against Ruffin, whose first fire brought down half his detachment: yet he bravely maintained the fight, till

Dilke's column, crossing a deep hollow, and not stopping even to re-form its broken lines, joined him, and the whole rushed forward simultaneously toward the summit of the ridge: their gallant opponents met them at its edge, when a fierce, and for some time doubtful, conflict ensued; but the French generals, Ruffin and Rousseau, both fell, mortally wounded; and the troops, giving way under the incessant fire and pressing advance of the British, at length left the hill, with three guns and several hundreds of prisoners in possession of their antagonists.

The routed French divisions, meeting in their retreat, spiritedly attempted to re-form, and to renew the action; but this design was frustrated by the rapid and murderous play of Duncan's artillery: Victor then carried off his discomfited army from troops who were exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having been under arms twenty-four hours without food; and this he did in the face of a large train of Spanish artillery and a superb regiment of cavalry, 800 strong, by whom not a sabre was drawn that day, either in defence of their allies, or in pursuit of the flying enemy.

In this sanguinary conflict, which lasted only one hour and a half, fifty officers, sixty serjeants, and above 1100 British soldiers were killed or wounded; while their opponents lost 2000, together with six guns, an eagle, two generals, and 400 prisoners. After the action, Graham remained some hours on the heights, to see whether the flame of patriotism or courage could be kindled in the bosom of La Peña, who had been joined by 4000 troops and a powerful artillery from the Isla: but, alas! if there had been a spark existing there, it would have been extinguished by that unconquerable jealousy, which animated the Spanish generals against their brave allies: La Peña refused to put 12,000 untouched troops in motion against the foes of his country, even in their flight. On the fifth, Victor, with great judgment and spirit, proposed to renew the attack; but was overruled by his council of war: next day, our troops filed over Zayas's bridge into the Isla; when admiral Keats, landing his seamen and marines, dismantled all the enemy's forts from Rota to Santa Maria, with the exception of Catalina. Great confusion prevailed in the French camp; and if La Peña, even then, would have pushed on toward Chiclana, the British admiral and general would have undertaken to demolish all the works of the Trocadero; but he still refused to serve his country, if by doing so he must add glory to the British arms: breaking down, therefore, the bridge over the

San Petri, he retired to Algesiras; and, in an address to the Cortes, claimed all the merit of victory for himself! To such a pitch of audacity did his minions, Lasey and Cruz-Murgeon, proceed, that they published inaccurate accounts of the action, and had deceptive plans engraved to deceive the public.³ 'Graham,' as the peninsular historian observes, 'stung by these unworthy transactions, exposed the conduct of La Peña, in a letter to the British envoy; and when Lasey let fall some expressions personally offensive, he enforced an apology with his sword:' he then deputed his command to general Cooke, and carried his well-earned laurels to the great commander.

While discord prevailed in Cadiz, Badajos held out under its admirable governor, Rafael Menancho, who had communicated a portion of his own courage and activity to the garrison: this brave man however having been slain, in a sally on the second of March, the command fell to Imas, one of the worst officers of La Peña's school: under him the spirit of the garrison died away; and a breach being made in the ramparts, the place was peremptorily summoned on the tenth: at this time, the great crisis of the campaign had passed, and a strong body of British and Portuguese were ready to raise the siege: in three different ways, by telegraph, by letter, and by a confidential messenger, Imas was informed that Massena was in full retreat, and the relieving army on its march: the breach was still impracticable, the garrison above 8000 strong, and the French army reduced by sickness and the operations of war to 14,000. The sequel must be given in the words of the military historian:—'Imas read the letter, and instantly surrendered; handing over to the enemy at the same moment the intelligence thus obtained; but he also demanded that his grenadiers should march out of the breach: it was granted; and he was obliged to enlarge the opening himself ere they could do so! Yet this man, so covered with opprobrium, and who had secured his own liberty while consigning his fellow-soldiers to a prison, and his character to infamy, was never punished by the Spanish rulers! Lord Wellington's indignant remonstrances forced them, indeed, to bring him to trial; but they made the process last the whole war.'

When Badajos fell, some other slight advantages were gained; but the victory of Barosa, and the success of Wellington's grand combinations, forced Soult to return into Andalusia. During the siege, no alteration took place in the main positions

³ Napier, vol. iii. p. 449.

of the French and British at Santarem, while our commander's able project of relieving Badajos was frustrated by two untoward circumstances; the fatal action, under Mendizabel, at the Gebora; and the neglect of admiral sir Joseph Yorke, who, not taking advantage of a fair wind, when reinforcements were put on board his fleet, prolonged a voyage of ten days to one of six weeks. Every fault and failure however of others served only to display the fine qualities of lord Wellington's mind, whose plans and combinations were too grand and comprehensive in their nature to be affected by petty accidents: on the retina of that mind lay the whole process of the war, as it were, in perspective; and it is said by those who knew the man, that few events of great importance occurred which were not foreseen by his almost miraculous powers of anticipation.

Massena's situation had now become so perilous, by a total interruption of his communications with the duke of Dalmatia, by the sickness which wasted his troops, the dissention existing between many of his generals, and the commencing disorganisation of his army, that he determined to retreat, when the occupation of his position ten more days would have enabled Soult to join him. Of the several lines open to his march, he chose that which led to the Mondego; determining either to pass that river, or to proceed along its left bank toward Guarda and Almeida; but he previously sent off all his invalids and stores, by a flank movement, executed with great ability. At first, he made an indication of despatching Ney, with the sixth corps and the cavalry, against Torres Vedras; and thus kept his antagonist in suspense: but after great destruction of its munitions of war, the army, by rapid concentric movements, and a gain of four days' time, occupied a position in front of Pombal, and secured its line of retreat; for lord Wellington, though well aware that such a retreat was intended, could take no decisive step, lest he should open his lines to the enemy: he had however ordered marshal Beresford to close up to his right on the fifth; and on the sixth, discovering the camp at Santarem to be empty, he put his own army in motion, one part in the direction of Thomar, the other in that of Leiria: but though Massena had commenced his march on the fourth, the eleventh arrived before sufficient forces could be assembled to engage him; during this interval, he had ably executed one of the most difficult movements in war, and had fully organised his retreat, unencumbered with any heavy artillery, but protected by a strong rear-guard, under Ney, who took advantage of every defensible post in the line of march.

A slight skirmish occurred at Pombal; where the French were driven from their position with such precipitation by the ninety-fifth regiment, and the third caçadores of the light division, that they had not time to blow up the bridge, although it was undermined. Montbrun was here detached, for the purpose of seizing Coimbra, which it was lord Wellington's immediate object to save: he also determined to drive Massena out of Portugal, by skilful rather than daring operations; being unwilling to run the hazard of weakening his force by a direct attack; and content, if he could harass and disorganise the enemy, while he kept his own army intire for future operations in Spain: the country also was full of strong positions, and the weather favorable to a retreating enemy; while 'Ney, with a happy mixture of courage, readiness, and skill, illustrated every league of ground by some signal combination of war.'⁴ The combat of Redinha, on the twelfth, particularly displayed this marshal's military talents, where an ingenious arrangement of his troops deceived lord Wellington as to their numbers; and when the whole British army was rapidly advancing on his position, he drew off his troops with inconceivable rapidity and small loss: on the thirteenth, the allies renewed their pursuit, and soon discovered the whole French army, with the exception of the second corps, which was at Espinhal, in order of battle. The crisis of Massena's retreat, as colonel Napier observes, had now arrived: the defiles of Condeixa, leading on Coimbra, were behind him; those of Miranda de Corvo, leading to the Puente de Murcella, were on his left; and in the fork of these two roads, Ney was fixed, on a strong range of heights, covered by a marsh and various artificial obstructions, by which Massena expected to stop the British pursuit, while Montbrun occupied Coimbra: for he designed to pass the Mondego, and either capture Oporto, or maintain a position between that river and the Douro, till the arrival of Soult or Bessières should enable him to resume active operations.⁵ Coimbra however was saved principally by the skilful and daring measures of colonel Trant, assisted by sir Robert Wilson, and other independent corps: the French commander therefore directed his march on the Puente de Murcella; and though Wellington now assumed a

⁴ Sir Thomas Picton also, whose division was principally engaged with the rear-guard of the French army, declared, that 'his movements afforded a perfect lesson in this kind of warfare'—Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 385.

⁵ Napier, vol. iii. p. 464.

more decided superiority over his antagonist, yet the retreat was still conducted with consummate skill and extraordinary success. 'On the fourteenth,' says Picton, 'the light division was engaged with the enemy's rear-guard as early as half-past five o'clock in the morning; and there was a continual skirmish, without any intermission, till near four o'clock in the afternoon.'⁶ On the fifteenth, according to the same authority, another vehement attack was made by several British divisions; but the ground was particularly favorable to the retreating forces, consisting of abrupt woody heights, connected by narrow gorges, strongly occupied by infantry and artillery: they made therefore an obstinate resistance: but in the end were successfully driven from all their positions, till night covered their movements. The sixteenth was employed by our troops in reconnoitring the enemy; whose whole force was concentrated on a strong woody ridge, covered by a rapid and unfordable river: early the following night, however, he decamped, and by a forced march reached the Alva, which he passed at different fords, on the seventeenth, and the morning of the eighteenth. The British army was now obliged to relax in the vigor of its pursuit, on account of a deficiency of provisions; the commissariat not being able to keep pace with such rapid movements; and the enemy having consumed everything in the country with fire and sword: here he also destroyed large quantities of baggage and ammunition; even abandoning his more distant foraging parties, which were intercepted and taken, to the number of 800 men, as they returned to the Alva.

While provisions were sent up the Mondego for our forces, the light division and cavalry continued to pursue Massena, who reached Celerico, on the twenty-first, with two corps, and all his horse; when he immediately opened a communication with Almeida, while Regnier occupied Guarda with the second corps. Having thus gained the original base of his operations, and feeling anxious not to re-enter Spain as a conquered general, he formed a design of throwing all his sick men and other encumbrances into Almeida; and then, passing the Estrella at Guarda, to advance through Sabugal and Peña Macor to the Elga: there he would have established communications across the Tagus with Soult, and along the valley of that river with the king: a close and concentric direction would have been given to the armies of the south, of the centre,

⁶ Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 382.

and of Portugal; which, by making a demonstration against Lisbon, would have drawn Wellington back to the Tagus, while the northern army menaced the frontier. This plan however was strongly opposed by Ney; who, wishing to shorten the retreat, urged the necessity of falling back on Almeida; absolutely refusing to concur in Massena's project, and even moving his troops in a contrary direction: the latter then deprived that marshal of his command; and each sent a confidential officer to Paris to justify his conduct to Napoleon. From both those envoys, colonel Napier professes to have derived information; judging from which, as well as from other circumstances, he thinks that 'Massena's general views were as superior to those of Ney, as the latter's readiness and genius in the handling of troops in action were superior to the prince's.'

Though Ney's insubordination had frustrated Massena's plan of marching on the Elga, the latter hoped to maintain a position at Guarda, by aid of the army of the south; and to hold open communications with Soult and the king: but Wellington's bold operations now disarranged his calculations.

Our troops had come up on the twenty-eighth; and together with them reinforcements, which were formed into a seventh division: on the twenty-ninth, by a skilful combination of movements, in which the third division, under Picton, bore a distinguished part, the enemy was dislodged from the heights and city of Guarda, though posted in great strength; and the gallant third, having turned Massena's left, took a strong position in his rear, within a quarter of a mile of head-quarters: this so alarmed him, and the absence of Ney also was so strongly felt, that he quickly withdrew the corps opposed to the other divisions, and commenced his retreat with marks of great precipitation. Still unwilling to quit Portugal, Massena lost no opportunity of arresting the progress of his pursuers; and on the third of April he endeavored to make another stand on the Coa, which brought on the sharp action of Sabugal. Lord Wellington's dispositions, on this occasion, were made with distinguished ability; but one of those accidents which so often disarranged military operations, marred his well-concerted schemes, and saved the French army: this arose from his instructions not being promptly and properly obeyed; so that colonel Beckwith's brigade of the light division, and four companies of the ninety-fifth, with two squadrons of cavalry, and three companies of caçadores, supported by the forty-third

regiment, for a long time bore the brunt of the fight, against the main body of the enemy : these gallant troops, attacked on all sides, and occasionally compelled to give way before the overwhelming pressure of the opposing column, still recovered their ground by successive charges : thrice did the forty-third thus beat back solid masses and repel the attacks of cavalry, with a resolution and courage that could not be resisted : but all would have been vain ; the whole of the enemy's force had been called up, and was about to close on this heroic little band, when firing was suddenly heard on their left : this was from Colville's brigade of the third division, led by Picton himself ; and as they advanced up a hill to the point of attack, with stern front and steady step, the general ordered them not to fire a shot before he gave the word of command : and not a shot was fired, till they came within a few yards of the enemy's right : then a volley was poured in close and true ; a loud cheer was caught up by Beckwith's almost exhausted troops, and the attack renewed with fresh energy : the head of general Dunlop's column also was now seen crossing the bridge of the Coa, against the French right ; while our cavalry appeared on the rear of their left : the columns under Regnier, which were advancing to apparent victory, then slowly withdrew from 'one of the most glorious contests to British troops,' according to lord Wellington's own words, 'in which they ever were engaged.' The retreat was now continued ; and on the fifth, Massena crossed the frontier of Portugal, as a beaten general, for the purpose of taking refuge in Ciudad Rodrigo : but he acquired in this campaign a character for violence, cruelty, and devastation, unparalleled in the whole course of the war ; and left his name to be execrated by the Portuguese, as long as any memorial of his acts shall exist. He had entered the country with 65,000 men ; he had been reinforced with 10,000 ; and he repassed the frontier with 45,000, losing about 6000 in his retreat from Santarem.

From Ciudad Rodrigo, where supplies were obtained, and detachments joined his broken army, Massena fell back to Salamanca ; whilst his antagonist invested Almeida, sending the militia to their homes, and disposing his army between the Coa and the Agueda : beyond that river he could not take a position ; for the Portuguese regulars were in a sad state, and daily decreasing in numbers ; while the misconduct of the regency still continued, and little or no money could be procured. Entertaining however grand projects for the future, he demanded reinforcements from England, and leave to carry his

designs into execution, if proper opportunities should occur: 'yet,' says colonel Napier, 'he checked his secret aspirations, reflecting on the national pride and perverseness of the Spaniards, their uncertain proceedings, and the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of ensuring any reasonable concert and assistance. When to this he added the bad disposition of the Portuguese regency, and the timid temper of the English ministers, so many jarring elements presented themselves, that he could make no fixed combinations: nevertheless, maturing the leading point of action in his own mind, he resolved to keep them in view, adapting his proceedings to circumstances as they should arise.'⁷ 'So deeply, however,' says the same writer, 'had he probed the nature of the contest, that we shall find his future operations strictly conformable to his first conceptions; and always successful.'

As the capture of Badajos bore strongly on all his plans, he left the investment of Almeida to general Spencer, and departed for the Alemtejo, there to confer with marshal Beresford, who had the conduct of operations in that quarter. After the fall of Badajos, Soult had returned to Andalusia, leaving the siege of Campo Mayor to be conducted by Mortier: who, having effected this achievement, returned to the Guadiana, leaving Latour Maubourg to dismantle the place, and remove its guns and stores to Badajos. Such was the state of affairs, when Beresford, who had been detached from our northern army during its pursuit of the French, arrived at Portalagre with 20,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and eighteen pieces of artillery. So secretly had this force been prepared, and so expeditiously sent by lord Wellington, that Campo Mayor was recovered before the enemy had time to remove all the stores: they also evacuated Albuquerque and Valencia d'Alcantara; but marshal Beresford, though a very gallant soldier, does not seem to have possessed those strategic talents which would have enabled him to keep pace with the designs of the great captain. It is stated, on high military authority, that if, profiting by the consternation which the appearance of his vast force caused, and by the weakness of Mortier's corps, from which Soult had abstracted large detachments, he had marched on Merida, driven back the fifth corps, and opened a fresh communication with Elvas by Jerumenha, Badajos must have fallen; for its breach was not closed, nor its magazines replenished:⁸ the fatigues however and wants of his soldiers

⁷ Napier, vol. iii. p. 492.

⁸ Ibid. p. 497

induced the marshal to put them into quarters around Elvas, where the Portuguese government had promised to provide them with sustenance, in order that they might undertake the siege of Olivenza and Badajos: he found however that the Portuguese regency made promises, only to betray its allies; for no provisions were collected in the country, nor any means of transport for the troops to cross the river: Beresford therefore halted till he could procure means of passing it at Jerumenha; 'an error,' says colonel Napier, 'which may be considered as the first and principal cause of those long and bloody operations, which afterwards detained lord Wellington nearly two years on the frontiers of Portugal;'⁹ for during this delay, Badajos was fortified by Philippon, and its magazines stored by the foraging parties of Latour Maubourg. On the fifth and sixth of April, the army, after great difficulties, crossed the Guadiana; and on the seventh the French general came up, with a strong corps, to oppose a passage that had been already effected: he however surprised an advanced squadron of cavalry, and then came so close to the British position as to exchange shots; but was suffered to retire unmolested. During these proceedings, the Spanish armies under Blake and Castaños took the field, both jealous of each other, and also of Beresford; but the latter, being joined by Madden's cavalry, marched against Latour Maubourg, who retired on Llerena; when the marshal, leaving a considerable force under general Cole to besiege Olivenza, took post at Albuera, communicating by his left with Almendralejo, and spreading his cavalry in front so as to cut off all communication with Badajos. On the fifteenth, Olivenza surrendered; and after some movements, intended to drive Latour Maubourg over the Morena, and to cut off general Maransin, who was in pursuit of Ballasteros, whom he had defeated at Tregenal, the whole army was concentrated on the sixteenth about Zafra: Latour Maubourg retired to Guadalcanal; and Llerena was occupied by the Spanish cavalry. On the twenty-first, Wellington arrived at the Guadiana; and next day, having forded it with Madden's cavalry, and a brigade of German light infantry under general Charles Alten, he pushed up close to Badajos, and endeavored, but without success, to cut off a convoy then about to enter the town. His lordship, knowing well that Soult would endeavor to interrupt the siege, refused to invest the place until he had received the promise of the

⁹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 499.

Spanish generals, Blake, Ballasteros, and Castaños, to take up prominent positions, which he marked out; Albuera being the point of concentration for the allied forces, in the event of a battle: political differences however, added to the natural slowness and arrogance of those officers, delayed operations: in the mean time, intelligence arrived that Massena, reinforced by the army of the north, and the ninth corps, had re-appeared on the Agueda: directing Beresford therefore to postpone the siege until unanimity should prevail, or the fall of Almeida should permit him to send reinforcements, Wellington returned with speed to his army: having joined it on the twenty-eighth, he immediately concentrated its main force behind the Don Casas river; being resolved neither to seek nor to decline a battle.

On the second of May, Massena, quitting Ciudad Rodrigo, and pushing his whole army across the Agueda, attempted to force a passage to Almeida. The allies occupied a fine table-land, lying between the rivers Turones and Dos Casas; their left resting on Fort Conception, their centre being opposite to the village of Almeida, and their right near Fuentes Onoro: the front of this extensive line was protected by the Dos Casas, flowing in a deep ravine. Much skirmishing took place on the evening of the third of May at Fuentes Onoro, which was occupied by five chosen battalions of the first and third divisions. General Loison, without waiting for Massena's orders, attacked these troops with a superior force; but was bravely met and kept in check, until their commander, colonel Williams, of the sixtieth, fell severely wounded: the enemy's efforts were nearly crowned with success, when the twenty-fourth, the seventy-first, and the seventy-ninth regiments coming down from the main position, made a spirited charge, and drove them from the village for the night.

Massena arrived on the fourth; which day he passed in reconnoitring, and making dispositions for a more general engagement: being now joined by Bessières with 1200 cavalry and a battalion of the imperial guard, he had under arms 40,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with thirty pieces of artillery. On the morning of the fifth, a furious attack was made on our right by the cavalry under Montbrun, which very severely handled the light division: but the chief share of the combat fell to the third under Picton, which, for its extreme bravery and gallant exertions on every occasion, had acquired in the army the appellation of 'the fighting division.' The village of Fuentes Onoro was again the main object of contention;

Drouet being ordered to carry it at the moment when Montbrun's cavalry should turn the British right wing: a delay however of two hours occurred, and the place was defended in the most determined manner by the same gallant regiments which sustained the unequal combat of yesterday; and that, against repeated assaults, supported by a tremendous cannonade: about two o'clock, however, these troops began to give way and to fall back behind the village; when the eighty-eighth, under colonel Wallace, led on by major-general Mackinnon, moved up to support them, making so overwhelming a charge through the streets, that the enemy was driven out with immense loss; though he still kept up a heavy, but not very destructive cannonade, at a distance.

When the action ceased, both armies remained in observation: on the sixth, the French general sent his wounded men to the rear, without making any demonstration of attack: while lord Wellington completed some intrenchments to defend his position. As great insubordination existed among his principal officers, Massena recrossed the Agueda on the tenth, and soon afterwards returned to France, being superseded in his command by Marmont, who had lately been created duke of Ragusa.

Almeida was now left to its fate; but the skilful and daring conduct of its governor, General Brennier, allowed very little honor to be acquired by its captors. After blowing up the fortifications and destroying the guns¹⁰ in so ingenious a manner as to elude all notice of the blockading regiments, he succeeded in breaking through them with his garrison; which after a slight loss, effected a junction with the second corps under Regnier. Marmont then withdrew the greater part of his army to Salamanca; and Wellington set out for Badajos, leaving four divisions, under general Spencer, and directing the third and seventh, with the second German hussars, to follow him. During his absence in the north, marshal Beresford,

¹⁰ He fired several guns at the same time, with very heavy charges, placing one across the muzzle of the other; so that while some shots flew toward the besiegers, and a loud explosion was heard, others destroyed pieces of cannon without attracting notice: and for two days he continued this work of destruction, blowing up his mines and issuing from Almeida about one o'clock in the morning of the 11th of May. The way was opened by the bayonet, when they boldly passed between our picquets; and though pursued by generals Pack and Campbell, they continued their march in a compact body, without firing; and were well guided through the positions held by our troops.

having obtained the acquiescence of the Spanish generals, had invested that important fortress ; but to the great discredit of our own government, no army was ever so ill provided with materials for a siege : the engineer officers were men of high talent and zeal ; but without proper tools and cannon of sufficient calibre, without a single corps of sappers and miners, or a private who knew how to carry on approaches under fire, they were opposed to the most numerous, scientific, and warlike set of men that any age or nation ever produced : omitting, however, the description of this unsuccessful operation, let us proceed to notice those movements on the side of Andalusia which drew the allies from the besieged fortress. Soult, having had time to re-organise that province after the disasters attendant on the battle of Barosa, and to collect a powerful reinforcement, suddenly advanced ; and, being joined on his march by general Maransin and Latour Maubourg, arrived on the fifteenth of May at Santa Marta, about twenty-four miles distant from Badajos. Beresford remained till the night of the twelfth, in a state of much uncertainty ; and then, contrary to the advice of his engineer officers, who promised to put him in possession of the place within three days, he determined to raise the siege : for this determination he has received great praise from colonel Napier, who observes, that the promise was ill-founded ; and if it had been otherwise, Soult would have surprised him in the trenches :¹¹ his firmness, therefore, in this instance, saved the army ; and having skilfully removed his battering train to the right bank of the Guadiana, he held a conference with the Spanish generals, on the thirteenth, at Valverde, where it was resolved to meet the foe at Albuera : this resolution, however, has not been thought intitled to the same applause ; for he had only 7000 British troops to act against a superb army of French veterans ; his main object could have been attained without a battle ; while a defeat would have drawn lord Wellington again within the lines of Torres Vedras, and let a tremendous army into Portugal, to the probable ruin of the peninsula. The corps under Ballasteros and Blake, which had united at Baracotta, were now falling back on Almendral ; and Blake engaged to bring them into line before noon on the fifteenth : but, alas ! the arrogance, inactivity, and incapacity of this man occasioned torrents of the best British blood to flow. On the morning of the fifteenth, a position was taken on a ridge about four miles

¹¹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 529.

long, sloping down toward the river of Albuera in front ; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the whole of the allied cavalry were driven in, passing the stream, and abandoning a woody height on the other side ; which, being unoccupied, enabled Soult to mask his principal dispositions for battle. At that time, the fourth division had not come up from Badajos, where it appears to have been imprudently left ; and Blake's movements were so slow, that he did not reach the ground assigned to him, on the right of the line, before eleven at night ; nor was his rear in a position before three next morning : orders were sent to hasten Cole and Madden, the former of whom brought up two brigades of the fourth division, with the infantry of the fifth Spanish army and two squadrons of Portuguese cavalry ; which latter were sent to reinforce our countrymen, under colonel Otway, on the left of the line ; while the Spaniards joined Blake on the right. Soult having, on the evening of the fifteenth, examined and detected the weak points in his adversary's line, placed a very strong force behind the wooded height above-mentioned, for the purpose of turning the right wing of the allies, and driving it back on their centre. The battle commenced at an early hour on the sixteenth, by an attempt of the French division under Godinot, to cross the bridge before Albuera, where they suffered much from the well-directed fire of our artillery : but Beresford soon discovered that the main attack was to be directed against his right wing, and therefore he sent Blake directions to make a change in his front, for the purpose of meeting it ; this order the arrogant Spaniard refused to obey, telling colonel Hardinge that the real attack was at the bridge : the marshal, therefore, after sending another message as vainly as the former, was obliged himself to gallop to Blake's post, where nothing had been done : the enemy's dense columns, however, had already emerged from the wood ; and before Beresford could make the necessary evolutions, were close on our right wing : their artillery then opened ; their infantry poured in a destructive fire ; and their cavalry, outflanking the front, put the Spaniards into the utmost disorder. Soult, thinking that the whole allied army was yielding, pushed forward his columns, while his reserves mounted the hill, and his batteries were placed in position : but at this crisis, general William Stewart arrived with colonel Colborne's brigade, from the second division : the colonel, who was not surpassed by Ney himself in the management of troops in action, desired to form in order of battle before they ascended the hill ; but the general, whose

impetuous courage, at this moment, blinded his judgment, led up in column, and endeavored to deploy into line as the battalions arrived at the summit; a fatal error! for the heavy rain, now falling, enabled four regiments of hussars and lancers to pass the right flank without observation: these came rushing on the rear of our line at the very instant of its development; and one battalion only, which had not deployed, remained unbroken. Dreadful was the slaughter that ensued, while French and Polish horsemen rode violently over the field, putting to death all stragglers, and piercing the wounded, who had fallen, with their long and terrible spears: in this tumult, the British commander-in-chief was himself encountered by a lancer; but being endowed with great personal strength and courage, he parried the thrust, and unhorsed his assailant: he would have spared the man, but his life was instantly taken by a soldier. During this time, the Spanish line continued to fire, though the British were before them; yet no exhortations of Beresford could induce them to advance, though he seized an ensign, and carried him with his colors by main force toward the enemy: Soult, however, being prevented by the weather from seeing accurately the state of things, kept his heavy columns together: while his cavalry was checked in its attempt to hem in that of the allies, by general Lumley, with the able assistance of the horse artillery: Colborne also still maintained the heights with the thirty-first regiment; Stewart, who had escaped the spears of the lancers, was leading general Houghton's brigade up the hill, in a better order of battle; and Soult found, to his cost, that the day was still to be won.

As soon as Houghton's regiments arrived on the summit, major Dickson placed our artillery in line; the surviving brigade of the second division came up on the left; and two Spanish corps being at last persuaded to move, the fight was vigorously renewed: general Stewart was twice wounded, but refused to quit the field; colonel Duckworth, of the forty-eighth, was slain; and the gallant Houghton fell in the act of cheering his men: such, however, was the slaughter in our ranks, that scarcely one-third in each regiment that had mounted the hill remained unhurt: the enemy was for a time checked by Dickson's artillery; but the Polish lancers again charged, and captured six of his guns. At this dreadful crisis it is said that marshal Beresford, having exhausted all his personal resources, meditated a retreat; but before the fatal order was given, some of his staff urged the possibility of recovering

the day with general Cole's two brigades of the fourth division; one consisting of Portuguese, under general Harvey; the other of British fusileers, under sir William Myers. While the commander hesitated, colonel Hardinge¹² boldly undertook to order Cole's advance; and then, riding up to colonel Abercrombie, who commanded the remnant of the second division, directed him to continue the contest: the die was thus cast, and Beresford acquiesced.¹³

At this time, when six British guns were in possession of the enemy, whose reserves were coming fast up, and all the field was in confusion, Cole's fusileers, flanked by a battalion of the Lusitanian legion, ascended the hill, dispersed the lancers, recaptured the guns, and appeared on the right of Houghton's brigade as Abercrombie passed it on the left: the contest that ensued is described by the peninsular historian in language that demands insertion, while it defies emulation:— 'Such a gallant line,' he says, 'issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy's heavy masses, which were increasing, and pressing onwards, as to an assured victory: they wavered, hesitated; and then vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavored to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed; Cole, and the three colonels, Ellis, Blackeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded; and the fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships: but suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies; and then was seen with what strength and majesty a British soldier fights: in vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen; in vain did the hardiest veterans, extricating themselves from the crowded columns, sacrifice their lives to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and, fiercely striving, fire indiscriminately on friends and foes; while horsemen, hovering on the flank, threatened to charge our advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry: no sudden burst of undisciplined valor, no nervous enthusiasm, weakened the stability of their order: their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in front; their measured tread shook the ground; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that

¹² Now governor-general of British India.

¹³ Napier, vol. iii. p. 539.

broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd ; as foot by foot, and with a horrid carnage it was driven by the incessant vigor of the attack to the farthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavor to sustain the fight: their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion ; and the mighty mass, giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent: the rain flowed after in streams, discolored with blood: and 1500 unwounded men, the remnant of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.'

Colonel Hardinge's decision having brought on a crisis, Beresford exerted himself to improve it ; and Blake's first line, which had not yet been engaged, was ordered on the village: this movement permitted Alten's German and other troops to come up to the right ; but so rapid was the execution of the fusileers, that the enemy's infantry were never touched by these reinforcements ; which nevertheless suffered severely from the French artillery under general Rutly: meanwhile, the contest was obstinately continued at the village ; though, after the complete defeat of his grand attack, Soult withdrew Godinot's division from that quarter also. In this short but sanguinary battle, five French generals, with 8000 other officers and men, were either killed or wounded: on the other side, 2000 Spaniards, with 600 Germans and Portuguese, were put *hors de combat* ; but of pure British troops only 1500 were left standing out of 6000! the rest were found lying, as they had fought, in their ranks ; more slain than all that fell in lord Wellington's campaign against Massena. The whole night long a deluge of rain came down, while the ravines and wooded hills, on each side of the river, resounded with shrieks and groans from dying men ; but Beresford had not a sufficient number of British unhurt to attend his wounded soldiers. In these distressing circumstances, he sent to Blake to ask assistance ; but the monster refused it, saying: 'it was customary with allied armies for each to take care of its own men.'¹⁴ Next day, both generals maintained their respective stations: the French, whose loss was far less serious than that of their opponents, were still menacing ; and Beresford, in great agitation, expected another attack: with consummate judgment, however, he kept his position ; and was joined on the seventeenth by the third brigade of the fourth division: on the eighteenth, to his infinite joy, Soult took the unwise step of

¹⁴ Napier, vol. iii. p. 544.

retreating toward Llerena; and the same day lord Wellington arrived, inspected the state of affairs, and, returning to Elvas, directed the third and seventh divisions, which had arrived at Campo Mayor, to complete the investment of Badajos: so inadequate, however, were his means, that it became a jest in the army to say, that he was suing Badajos *in formâ pauperis*. Under the direction, however, of that admirable officer, major Dickson, a battering train was got together; general Hill took the command of the covering army; the cavalry was pushed forward to observe Soult; and, on the twenty-ninth, ground was broken before this important place: on the sixth of June, a breach in Fort Cristoval was reported practicable, and an assault was ordered at midnight: it was both given and repelled with intrepidity; three fruitless attempts being made to scale the wall: time now pressed; the French armies were moving into position, and another assault was determined on: the breach having been again battered, a larger storming party, better provided than the former, boldly attempted it; but this also was driven back with still greater loss: on the tenth, therefore, lord Wellington removed his stores, and turned the siege into a blockade; for he discovered by an intercepted letter that the provisions of the garrison were nearly exhausted, and he determined to try the chances of war. In the mean time, Marmont, having provided for the defence of Ciudad Rodrigo, was advancing, in pursuance of the emperor's instructions, to support Soult on the Guadiana; and the latter marshal, being reinforced by Drouet, prepared once more to relieve Badajos. On the fourteenth, it was known that Marmont was at Truxillo, and could reach Soult in four days: the blockade therefore was raised; but Wellington, hoping to engage Soult separately, still lingered at Albuera, where he intrenched his camp, and took care to occupy a hill on the right, of which his antagonist had once taken so great an advantage: the duke of Dalmatia's caution, however, frustrated this design; on the seventeenth the allies recrossed the river, and two days afterwards Badajos was relieved.

Lord Wellington now placed his army in a very advantageous position between the rivers Caya and Gebora; while his opponents were quartered along the Guadiana, above and below Badajos: a great crisis seemed to be at hand: the French armies were far superior to the British, especially in cavalry; while the Portuguese regency had reduced their contingents to the lowest degree of misery by starvation, and had utterly neglected all the fortresses of the country. The enemy had

nearly deserted Andalusia, Castile, and the Asturias, to collect together their present overwhelming force; their generals were men of first-rate talent; and a victory at this time would have sent lord Wellington to Lisbon, if not out of the peninsula: but they felt the weight of moral over physical force; their defeats were still recent; they knew the constitution of British troops; and they were well aware that a general now commanded them who would give his opponents no advantage in military manœuvres: when lord Wellington, therefore, who neither urged nor declined a combat, had waited long enough to allow the Spaniards an opportunity of rising against their oppressors in the evacuated provinces, he despatched Blake against Seville; but that wretched commander, instead of occupying, as he might, the capital of Andalusia, wasted his time against the fortress of Niebla, which he could not take through want of artillery: yet Soult, fearing for the province, withdrew his army to the banks of the Guadalquivir: Marmont then, retiring gradually from before Badajos, quartered his troops in the valley of the Tagus, with the exception of one division left at Truxillo; at the same time, the fifth corps retired on Zafra, and Wellington found himself relieved from the presence of his antagonists, when he had most reason to fear their exertions: his troops, however, were now suffering so much from the terrible fever of the Guadiana, that this alone would have prevented him from resuming the siege of Badajos at present, if other reasons had not induced him to adopt a new system of operations.

In Catalonia, Suchet had stormed Tarragona, with circumstances of cruelty calculated to strike terror into the fortresses of Valencia and Murcia, against which he was making large preparations: powerful reinforcements were advancing by the northern line from France; and as no efforts had been made by the Spaniards to shake off the French yoke, while Soult and Marmont were detained on the banks of the Guadiana; these generals were left at liberty to plan an enterprise, under the direction of Napoleon, calculated to change the whole aspect of the war. In the mean time, the weakness and anarchy of the Spaniards were daily increasing; and the faction in Portugal, which was called a government, carried its insolence toward the English, as well as its peculation and cruelty toward the natives, to such a height, that lord Wellington, having drawn up clear statements of his grievous situation, sent one to the Brazils, and the other to his own government; with a strong intimation, that unless a new

system were adopted, he would resign his command. The marquis Wellesley made strenuous efforts in both countries to support his brother, who had to contend with difficulties that would have overwhelmed any common man; for the Souzas employed spies about his person, and misrepresented both his actions and his motives to the government of Rio Janeiro: with respect to the war, however, he had penetrated the enemy's project; and did not despair of baffling it, if he could overcome political embarrassments: to Portugal he still looked, as to a strong citadel, which would be impregnable, if he could gain firm possession of its resources; and these he hoped by his brother's assistance to obtain; when he might either strike partial blows against the French, or oblige them to concentrate their forces. Confident in his own genius and the valor of his troops, he felt that he could hold his foes, even so concentrated, in check, while the Spaniards ruined the small posts in their rear, cut off supplies, and disorganised the provincial administrations.

Having, therefore, deliberately formed his plans, he determined to leave sir Rowland Hill, with 10,000 infantry, a division of cavalry, and four brigades of artillery, in a position about Portalegre and Villa Viciosa, well covered against attack; and with a retreat secured either on Abrantes, or on the communications with Beira: the rest of his army he placed in good quarters at Castello de Vide, and other places near the Tagus; partly to escape the Guadiana fever, and partly to oppose Marmont's movements: it was not long, however, before he arranged offensive measures; though the positions of the French armies, and the misconduct of the Portuguese regency, left him no means of undertaking any extensive operations. Ignorant of the great strength of the army of the north, he determined to attack Ciudad Rodrigo, and hoped to capture it before Marmont could come to its assistance: having, therefore, secretly prepared a large battering train, which was transported up the Douro, to Lamego, he broke up his camp, and arrived with his main force on the Coa, about the eighth of August: on the sixth, however, supplies had been thrown into Ciudad Rodrigo, sufficient for two months; accordingly, the troops were quartered near the sources of the Coa and Aguada, close to the line of communication between Marmont and Dorsenne, who commanded the army of the north: preparations for the siege went on briskly, until Wellington discovered the strength of the northern army, from which more than 20,000 disposable forces could be

drawn: as his plans were based on calculations unconnected with this force, which, if Galicia had been under a good administration, never would have existed, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and wait for events. In the mean time, his military chest was totally exhausted; even the wages of the muleteers, on whose fidelity and efficiency the war absolutely depended, were six months in arrear; and disputes with the regency were more acrimonious than ever; since that stupid government, thinking the fate of Portugal secure, had deprived Mr. Stuart of his seat at the council, and was actually devising means to get rid of the British army.¹⁵ At this period, an opinion, which was strengthened by intercepted letters, prevailed in Spain, that Napoleon was coming to resume the command of his armies; when our commander, with characteristic prudence, turned his thoughts again toward the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras; requiring of the regency, that the roads and bridges, broken up by Massena's retreat, should be repaired: but they disregarded all his representations; and as the season was remarkably wet, the roads became nearly impassable; so that fortune favored the British army, in directing the emperor's attention to more distant objects.

In the midst of these cares, lord Wellington was suddenly called into action. Ciudad Rodrigo having been blockaded six weeks, and its provisions beginning to fail, Marmont and Dorsenne put their forces in motion, and met, on the twenty-first of September, at Tamames: their united armies amounted to about 60,000 men, including 6000 cavalry, with 100 pieces of artillery; while the force under the British commander was not more than 50,000; and some portion of that was necessarily occupied in the close investment of Rodrigo: his position also was weak, on account of its great extent; his centre, under Picton, resting on the heights of Pastores and El Bodon; his right wing being posted beyond the Agueda, and behind the Vadillo; and his left, under Graham, at Espeja, on the Lower Azava. On the twenty-fourth, the fourth division was brought up to Guinaldo, the pivot of future operations; the fifth remaining at St. Payo, to watch the passes of Estremadura.

On the twenty-fifth, the enemy were in motion by daybreak, to attack the centre of the allies; when fourteen battalions, with thirty squadrons and twelve guns, under Montbrun, came thundering over the plain, by the road leading to Guinaldo.

¹⁵ Napier, vol. iv. p. 230.

As the seventy-fourth and sixtieth regiments, stationed at Pastores, were too far distant to be called in, and Picton, with three other regiments at El Bodon, could not immediately join the combat, Wellington ordered a brigade of the fourth division from Guinaldo, and directed general Colville to draw up the seventy-seventh and fifth British regiments, with the twenty-first Portuguese, and two brigades of their artillery, on the hill over which the road to Guinaldo passed, supporting their flanks with Alten's three squadrons of horse. Fortunately, the impetuosity of the French cavalry led them so much in advance of their infantry, that they had for a long time to contend alone against the allies: after galloping over the plain, and crossing a ravine, under fire of the Portuguese artillery, they charged vehemently up a steep rocky causeway, regardless of the numbers that were struck down by a storm of shot: still they persevered; but at the summit they were checked by the German troopers, who, though few in number, being favored by the nature of the ground, boldly charged the heads of the ascending masses. Montbrun, however, resolute to win, brought up his artillery; under cover of which, his horsemen gained ground, and then pushed on with such rapidity, that the Portuguese artillerymen were sabred, and their guns captured, before the smoke had cleared away sufficiently to show the enemy on the summit. At this critical moment, the fifth regiment, under major Ridge, a daring son of Mars, deployed suddenly into line; and having poured a volley into the French cavalry, dashed at them with the bayonet, and retook the artillery, which again opened its fire: but although this novel experiment was for a time successful, Montbrun still pressed onward with fresh masses against our left flank, while other squadrons penetrated between the right and the village of El Bodon, from which Picton was with difficulty bringing up his troops: the expected brigade of the fourth division had not made its appearance; the French infantry was rapidly approaching; and the danger was now imminent; when lord Wellington ordered both Colville and Picton to fall back, and unite in the plain: the former instantly threw his two regiments into a square, which however was exposed to attack on all sides; the cavalry came thundering on them; but in vain did the gallant squadrons charge those steady veterans, whose volleys thinned their ranks, and whose bayonets presented an insuperable barrier against every assault.

Arrived at the plain, they were joined by the forty-fifth, the seventy-fourth, and the eighty-eighth regiments under Picton,

who placed himself at the head of his division, and led it off under the most critical and trying circumstances imaginable: Montbrun with fifteen squadrons pressed closely on its right, endeavouring to impede its movements, till the arrival of his infantry and artillery, of which he had only one battery in the field. Picton saw that nothing but the most rapid and orderly march could save his men from annihilation: the enemy's horse never quitted them for an instant; while a *parc* of six guns, taking them on the flank and rear, was pouring in a terrible fire of round-shot, grape, and canister. Marching on the left of the column, he calmly exhorted his men to mind the quarter distance, and 'the telling off':—Your safety,' he added, 'my credit, and the honor of the army, all rest with you at this moment.' Each battalion had in turn to form a rear-guard, in order to repel the enemy's advance; and then, after a volley, to fall back in double quick time behind that which was in its rear: nothing is more trying to troops than this evolution without cavalry; since the least unsteadiness in forming, or irregularity in retreat, may lead to the instant destruction of the whole force: about four o'clock in the evening, this brave band gained the intrenched camp, near Guinaldo, and the danger was at an end: by its retreat, however, the seventy-fourth and sixtieth regiments at Pastores were deserted; but these also, having crossed the Agueda by a ford, happily reached their comrades in the night. Next day, Marmont brought up a tremendous force against the position; which lord Wellington maintained, because he would not abandon his light division, under Craufurd, which did not arrive till three o'clock in the afternoon, and the French general, not being well acquainted with the true situation of his antagonist, forbore to bring on a combat: Wellington therefore in the night drew off his army into a new position, between the Coa and the sources of the Agueda; from that moment, Marmont never recovered the opportunity of success; and when he discovered the true state of affairs, he is said to have exclaimed, in allusion to Napoleon's fortune, 'Wellington's star also is bright.' The fourth division, under general Cole, was left at Aldea de Ponte, to which place the duke of Ragusa pressed his advance next day, when a short, but desperate conflict took place for that village, which, after much hard fighting, remained with the British: that same night, the allies again retreated to a strong and defensible line behind Soita, where both their flanks were protected by the Coa. Marmont, instead of pursuing them, resolved to retrace his steps to the

valley of the Tagus, contented with having relieved Ciudad Rodrigo, and driven its besiegers from the walls : the example of Massena was sufficient to deter him from a campaign in Portugal.

The allied army now went into cantonments, and lord Wellington took this opportunity of collecting such materials as would enable him to carry Ciudad Rodrigo by a more rapid method than that of blockade. In October, a singular event occurred : the troop of Don Julian Sanchez, a celebrated guerilla chieftain, going to an ambuscade, fell in with the cattle belonging to the garrison ; when general Regnaud, the governor, happening to be near at hand with a small escort of cavalry, charged the marauders, and was taken prisoner : the cattle was hailed as a most desirable acquisition by the soldiers, whose camp was not overstocked with provisions : but a still more valuable capture was made in the south by sir Rowland Hill, in a brilliant attack on the division of general Girard, who had crossed the Guadiana at Merida, and was annoying the northern district of Estremadura. General Hill, having procured lord Wellington's consent, took measures for driving him from his position at Caceres, and forcing him to recross the river ; in consequence of which the French retreated before the British commander, who followed them as rapidly as the wretched state of the weather permitted ; but was unable to obtain information of their route, until he fortunately discovered it himself at Malpartida, where he rested to give some repose to his fatigued troops. Having resumed his march to intercept his retiring foes by a shorter road, he ascertained, that being entirely unaware of his approach, they were resting at a place called Arroyo de Molinos ; where he determined to surprise, or at least bring them to an action. After a long forced march, made with incredible patience and secrecy by his harassed soldiers, he arrived on the evening of the 17th of October at Alcuescar, within four miles of his antagonist's position, who was quite unconscious of danger. Every precaution was taken by the British commander : the light companies were thrown into the villages to prevent their inhabitants from alarming the enemy ; while the other troops were stationed around them, with strict orders not to light a single fire during the whole rainy and tempestuous night. Their British hearts however were cheered and warmed by the hope of victory ; and the first streaks of dawn were scarcely visible in the horizon, when the different columns fell in without the note of a bugle, or the beat of a single drum. After filing quietly

through the villages, and crossing an intervening mountain, they found themselves, as day began to break, about half a mile from Arroyo de Molinos, when a violent hail-storm suddenly coming on, occasioned the French piquets to turn away their faces from their advancing foes: as the decisive moment however approached, the sky became clear; one of the enemy's brigades had marched off, and the rest were preparing to follow, when a rapid movement of the British troops took place; the first brigade being led against the village of Arroyo by sir Rowland Hill himself, the second under general Howard moving quietly round to the other side of the place for the purpose of intercepting the expected fugitives, while the cavalry advanced between them ready to take advantage of circumstances. Presently the 71st and 92nd regiments charged rapidly down the street, driving the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet, after a feeble attempt at resistance by the French cavalry: their infantry, however, having emerged from the village, endeavoured to form two squares under the protection of cavalry on their left; but the 71st regiment, lining some garden walls, poured into them a destructive fire, which was augmented by that of artillery: the confusion thence arising soon ended in flight on one side, and in a memorable pursuit on the other. Just behind the routed forces rose the steep and rocky Sierra de Montanches, up which they endeavoured to clamber, throwing away their arms and all other incumbrances, and yielding themselves prisoners whenever they were overtaken. In the excitement of such a chase the pursuers seemed to forget all the troubles of the preceding night, laughing, shouting, leaping about in their heavy accoutrements, and seizing on men or horses at almost every step; until they were stopped at the very edge of the Sierra by general Howard's brigade. The capture of nearly 1500 prisoners, among whom were several of high rank, signalized this brilliant achievement. Lieut. Blakeney, of the 28th, having leaped over a wall, took the prince d'Arenberg from the midst of a group of officers: general Brun also was taken, as well as three colonels, and about thirty inferior officers; although Girard himself, with a few followers, escaped over the bridge of Medellin, declaring that he would die sooner than surrender. Leaving behind him his baggage and artillery, he joined Drouet's corps at Zafra, while the British general returned to his old quarters, after a loss of about seventy men killed or wounded; but the report of Girard's disaster set all the French corps in motion, and every thing seemed to

indicate the design of a combined attack. A spirit of insubordination, however, in several corps, and a project of Soult to destroy Ballasteros and capture Tarifa, dissipated this alarm; and the indefatigable Hill, advancing again into Estremadura, obtained some advantages over the enemy; who, in consequence, evacuated Merida. On the side of Valencia, Suchet was carrying everything before him: having reduced Tarragona and Montserrat, the French marshal advanced against Murviedro, which he took by storm, as well as its strong citadel, built on the site of the ancient Saguntum: his invasion was protected by the French army of the north, which, menacing Galicia, fixed the allies on the Agueda; while in the province itself everything was favourable to his designs; for he was opposed in the field by the incapable Blake, between whose faction and that of Palacios the captain general, a violent enmity existed. After the fall of Saguntum, Suchet commenced operations against the large and powerful city of Valencia, in which he had enclosed Blake's army as in a net: on the second of December, the Spanish general, floundering like a huge fish, endeavoured to break the meshes, and escape; but he was driven back into the toils, and the last day of the year saw the city completely invested.

The gallant conduct of the British army, though it begins to occupy so large a space in our annals, must not render us forgetful of that other invincible arm of defence, the navy: the seas indeed had been so cleared of antagonists, that an opportunity of putting forth its strength now rarely occurred: this year, however, some brilliant actions took place, which showed plainly that the valor and skill of our naval heroes remained unimpaired. Early in March, a squadron of four frigates, of which three carried only thirty-two guns each, and the other thirty-eight, under the command of captain Hoste, discovered five French frigates, of much larger size, with one corvette, four brigs, two schooners, a xebec, and a gun boat, off the island of Lissa, to which they were conveying 500 troops, with materials necessary for its fortification. The enemy, as soon as they perceived the British squadron, endeavored to turn against us our system of naval tactics, and bore down in two divisions to the attack: the attempt, however, to break our line did not succeed; and the result proved that there is something beyond this manœuvre to which our naval superiority and success must be ascribed. The French commodore next attempted to round the van of the British ships, and so, by engaging to leeward, place them between

two fires; but in the act of wearing for this purpose, his frigate of forty-four guns went on shore among the rocks, and was soon afterwards blown up: undismayed by this accident, the enemy still persevered in the attempt, passing with their starboard division under the stern of the British ships, and engaging them to leeward; while their larboard division tacked and remained to windward: still, though they displayed more than their usual skill, activity, and courage, they found adversaries superior to them on all these points: they could make no serious impression on our ships; but in about two hours after the commencement of the action, their two frigates, which had fought to leeward, struck their colors: the other division then attempted to escape, but were closely pursued, and a vessel here also was compelled to strike: but the *Flora*, one of the two which first surrendered, took advantage of circumstances to escape; and though reclaimed by captain Hoste, was kept by the French, under a pretence that her colors were not struck, but cut down by a shot. The British commodore was raised to the dignity of a baronet for this splendid achievement; and many of his officers were promoted.

A gallant exploit was also performed at Sagone-bay, in the island of Corsica, by the *Pomone*, *Unité*, and *Scout*, under captain Barrie, who burned three armed vessels laden with timber for the dock-yards at Toulon, though protected by strong batteries, a martello tower, and 200 soldiers. Another action off the coast of France partook of a different character, and showed British seamen capable of deceiving, as well as conquering, their foe. On the twenty-fourth of August, captain Ferris, of the *Diana* frigate, in company with captain Richardson, of the *Semiramis*, discovered four ships at the mouth of the Garonne, within the shoals, and protected by some armed vessels: as they could not be attacked openly, captain Ferris resolved to employ a stratagem, which required the utmost promptitude and coolness in the execution: the British frigates boldly approached under French colors; and so completely were the enemy deceived, that pilots came on board, by whose direction and assistance they anchored, after dark, near the batteries at the river's mouth: the boats, seven in number, were then sent four miles up the Garonne, where the French convoy lay; and the tide, though at first adverse, becoming favorable, their success was complete: still there was danger in passing the armed vessels; but the same artifice was continued so effectually, that the captain

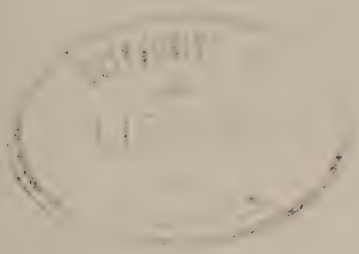
of one of them, who was also port-captain, came on board the *Diana* to offer his services; not being aware that it was an English ship till he stood on the deck. In a short time two were captured; but it was not possible for the enemy to be longer deceived, and the batteries opened on the English frigates; yet the *Semiramis*, as if in contempt of their fire, pursued, drove on shore, and burned under their very guns, the brig whose captain had been decoyed on board the *Diana*. Five vessels rewarded the captors; who lost not a single man, and had only three wounded in this enterprise.

In the Indian sea, three French frigates, which had been despatched with a reinforcement of troops for the Mauritius, but too late to prevent its capture, were pursued by a British squadron of three frigates and a brig; when one was taken; another escaped after she had struck her colors; and the third, having proceeded to Tamatava-bay, in the isle of Madagascar, was there captured, with the fort, and vessels in harbor.

To the farthest region of the East victory still accompanied the British arms: a formidable expedition against the Dutch settlements in Java was fitted out and accompanied by lord Minto; the command of the troops being entrusted to sir Samuel Auchmuty, an excellent officer, who had rendered himself honorably conspicuous in the unfortunate affair at Buenos Ayres. On the fourth of August, a landing was effected, about twelve miles eastward of the city of Batavia, which surrendered on the eighth without resistance; the garrison retreating, first to Welterzeede, and then to an intrenched position which surrounds fort Cornelis: on the twenty-sixth, a general assault of the works was ordered; when the lines were forced, the fort was stormed, and the whole army of the enemy killed, taken, or dispersed. General Jansens, its commander, fled with a small number of horsemen; but being pursued, was soon obliged to capitulate: the whole island was now delivered from the heavy yoke of Holland, to taste the blessings of a just, humane, and liberal government, but afterwards to be transferred again to the foul and pestilent administration of its ancient oppressors: for the present however, to use the words of lord Minto, 'the British nation had neither an enemy nor a rival from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.'

Before we conclude the annals of this year, a memorable contest, which took place at Cambridge, requires our notice. On the death of the duke of Grafton, two candidates started for the chancellorship of that distinguished university; his

royal highness the duke of Gloucester, and his grace the duke of Rutland. The former of these exalted personages, being the first prince of the blood who had received his education at an English university, depended for success on the character which he had acquired during his residence there, and the strong attachment which he had subsequently cherished for that seat of learning: the latter, as if undervaluing his own personal qualifications, which were confessedly great, relied more on the vast parliamentary interest which he had obtained, by what was termed 'the boroughmongering system;' as well as on the decided support of government, which he had the imprudence to set forth in a circular addressed to the electors. The consequence might easily have been anticipated: his antagonist gained the election by a majority of 100 votes in 840.



CHAPTER LIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1812.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Report of the king's health—Augmentation of the civil list, &c.—State of the cabinet and public opinion—The regent's letter to the duke of York—Continuation of Mr. Perceval's ministry—Accession of lord Castlereagh to it—House of Hertford—Lord Boringdon's motion for an address to the regret on the new ministry, &c.—Attack in both houses on secret influence behind the throne; advocacy of the catholic claims, &c.—Mr. Canning's motion in favor of them carried by a large majority—Law regarding the frame-makers, &c.—Tragical fate of Mr. Perceval—Provision made for his family—Various intrigues in the formation of a cabinet—Lord Liverpool appointed premier—Opinions regarding the whig leaders—Their long exclusion from office—Character of lord Liverpool—Accession of lords Harrowby and Sidmouth, and Mr. Vansittart to the cabinet—The budget—Various bills introduced into parliament—Population returns, &c.—Revocation of our orders in council; but too late to prevent war with America—Success of the British arms in Canada—Losses by sea—Attempts at reconciliation unsuccessful—Mission and death of Mr. Joel Barlow—Napoleon's Russian expedition—Affairs of Spain—Sentiments of the regency, Cortes, and public—New Spanish regency appointed—State of the Portuguese government, &c.—Position of the British troops—Lord Wellington's advance against Ciudad Rodrigo, and capture of the place—Lord Wellington's preparations against Badajos—Vexatious conduct of the Portuguese government—Various military movements, and investment of Badajos—Siege and capture, &c.—Subsequent operations—Battle of Salamanca—Pursuit of the French, and entrance of the British army into Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Lord Wellington's retreat to Portugal—King Joseph's return to Madrid—Opinions respecting lord Wellington at home, &c.—Dissolution of parliament, and general election—Mr. Canning returned for Liverpool—His expression of opinions—Meeting of parliament—Speech and addresses, &c.—Gloomy predictions of the opposition—Bullion question—Grant of £200,000 to the suffering Russians, and £100,000 to lord Wellington—Adjournment of parliament—Domestic events—Meeting of parliament—Bill for the appointment of a vice-chancellor—Debates on the war with America—Motion respecting the princess Charlotte—Affairs of the prince and princess of Wales—Renewal of the East India company's charter—Chancellor of the exchequer's financial scheme, alteration made in the sinking fund,

&c.—Mr. Whitbread's remarks on the change of dress among our soldiers, &c.—Catholic question, &c.—Curates' bill introduced by lord Harrowby—Relief extended to unitarian dissenters—Debates on the treaty with Sweden.

WHEN the British parliament re-assembled, the state of the peninsular contest formed a prominent feature of the regent's speech : its general sentiments were echoed back by the lords, in an address moved by the earl of Shaftesbury, and seconded by lord Brownlow ; lords Grenville and Grey not carrying their opposition so far as to divide the house : but in the commons, sir Francis Burdett, breaking through the usual routine, and anticipating lord Jocelyn, who was slowly rising to move an address, proposed in its stead a strong remonstrance to the regent, containing an elaborate statement of public grievances ; among which the constitution of that house itself was not the least. The noble mover of the ministerial address, having recovered from his surprise, proposed it as an amendment to that of sir Francis, who divided the house, but had only one supporter.

Before the meeting of parliament, the queen's council reported that his majesty's health was generally good, though they threw a doubt on the probability of his being able to resume the regal functions : when the medical attendants were interrogated on the subject by a committee of each house, they were unwilling to declare that they had no hope of his recovery, though they did not seem absolutely to despair of it ; but the general conclusion was, that the case was desperate ; and the various hopes, fears, and speculations of public men were directed to the presumable conduct of the regent, when his restrictions should cease. Bills were brought forward, containing new regulations for the household ; the chancellor of the exchequer proposing that an addition of £70,000 should be made to the civil list from the consolidated fund ; that the care of his majesty's establishment, the expense of which was estimated at the annual sum of £100,000, should be placed under control of the queen, whose income should be increased by £10,000 ; while a commission was appointed to manage the king's private property, and a grant of £100,000 was made for the regent to meet the expenses consequent on his assumption of authority : nor were the female branches of the royal family forgotten on this interesting occasion ; a large addition being soon afterwards made to the income of the princesses. In the present state of the nation, when a cry of internal distress was heard throughout the land, and a

foreign war pressed so heavily on the national resources that our army sometimes could not move, owing to an empty chest, Messrs. Tierney and Ponsonby pronounced these new demands exorbitant, and recommended an accurate investigation as a preliminary step: ministers however were too insecure in their seats to tighten the strings of the public purse; and as parliament was then constituted, its courtly zeal was never doubted for an instant.

The cabinet at this time was not only weak, but distracted: that able diplomatist lord Wellesley, holding the qualifications of Mr. Perceval in the same degree of estimation as Mr. Canning expressed for those of lord Castlereagh, had already tendered his resignation, though he retained the seals of office provisionally, at the express desire of the regent. The known partiality of the prince for lord Wellesley, added to other old predilections, tended to confirm an opinion which prevailed, that one of the first acts of his unrestricted power would be the dismissal of Mr. Perceval's administration; nor did the high and confident tone assumed by that gentleman undeceive the house, until he startled his opponents, on the evening of the thirteenth of February, by the following triumphant insinuation:—'I do not know what may be the golden dreams of honorable gentlemen respecting the continuance of the present ministry; but they may find the opening prospect not quite so consolatory as they imagine.' He spoke thus in the full confidence of security; for on this very day the prince had transmitted his celebrated letter to the duke of York; and it required but little sagacity to foresee, that any communication made to Mr. Perceval's opponents by that honest and uncompromising adversary of the catholic claims, would effectually prevent them from entering the cabinet. Adverting, in this document, to his approaching emancipation from a restricted regency, the prince re-stated the motives of filial duty and affection, which, he said, induced him to retain his father's ministers; and after an ominous declaration, that he had 'no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to gain but such as were common to the whole empire,' concluded with a wish that some of those persons, with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, by constituting a part of his government. The duke of York having made the desired communications to lords Grey and Grenville, those noblemen addressed a reply to his royal highness, in which they expressed, on public grounds alone, the impossi-

bility of their union with the existing cabinet; since their differences of opinion embraced almost all the leading features of its policy: on one subject their sentiments were intirely at variance; they were so convinced of the necessity of a change in the system of governing Ireland, and of an immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which the majority of its people labored, that to recommend such a measure to parliament would be the first advice which duty would engage them to offer to his royal highness. At the same time considerations similar to these, which actuated the two leaders of opposition, operated on a portion of the existing cabinet; and more especially on lord Eldon, who addressed a letter on the subject to Mr. Perceval, which, as the editor of his life observes, 'eminently deserves the attention of all speculators in coalitions between parties of opposite principles.' In this communication the chancellor expressed his determination against even a meeting for consultation with men whose principles of government he, a zealous supporter of our constitution and its monarchy, had combated during the thirty years of his parliamentary life; and whose opinions respecting catholic emancipation, American and Spanish affairs, as well as bullion, were utterly irreconcilable with his own.

All hopes of forming an extended administration being at an end, the present ministers were retained; and in consequence of the marquis Wellesley's secession, lord Castlereagh was taken into the cabinet. This nobleman was considered as re-appearing on the political arena under the auspices of the house of Hertford,—a family now possessed of that secret influence behind the throne, which we find so often complained of as interfering with the machinery of government: its acquisition in the present instance was referred to the charms of an accomplished female, acting on an indolent and enervated mind.

As there was still a party in parliament who thought the present crisis required statesmen of great abilities, lord Boringdon, on the nineteenth of March, moved that the regent should be requested to form an efficient administration: the debate on this occasion was violent; and a distinguishing feature in it was the conflict of parties on the subject of catholic emancipation. Earl Grey stated the points which had deterred lord Grenville and himself from entering into the present cabinet: 'it was formed,' he said, 'on the express principle of resistance to the catholic claims; a principle, loudly proclaimed by the person at its head, from the moment

he quitted the bar to take a share in political life; and where he led, the rest were obliged to follow.' With respect to American claims, his lordship wished to bear in mind the maxim so well expressed by Burke; 'that as we ought not to go to war for a profitable wrong, so neither ought we for an unprofitable right:' on the question of making bank-notes a legal tender, an impassable line existed between him and the present ministry; and with respect to the peninsular war, it was his wish that we should not proceed on the present expensive scale, without appealing to some high military authority regarding its probable result: he also complained of a disastrous and disgusting influence behind the throne; which it was the duty of parliament to brand with signal reprobation: this influence, denied by lord Mulgrave, was denounced with impressive vehemence by lord Darnley; who declared that ministers owed their places to unauthorised advisers, of whom the house and the constitution knew nothing; and whose selfish, bigoted whispers in the royal ear endangered the safety of the state. Mr. Lyttleton, in a debate on sinecure places in the other house, declared that the regent was surrounded by 'minions and favorites;' and intimated that the rewards, which should have been conferred on the gallant defenders of our country, were lavished on 'Gavestons and Spencers!' The most violent attack on his royal highness and his ministry, was made by lord Donoughmore, when he moved for a committee on the Roman catholic claims; but the virulence of this animated and powerful speaker was too much tainted with the venom of private pique: sitting as a representative of Ireland, he had solicited the honor of the English peerage; and the refusal of this request excited him to take revenge by one of the most remarkable efforts of elaborate and personal vituperation ever heard in parliament. His lordship's motion was cordially seconded by the duke of Sussex, who deprecated a system of exclusion, which, without regard to justice or expediency, had been so long enforced by an intolerant legislature; and lord Wellesley, while he admitted that it was the primary duty of every state to maintain the national religion, contended that the members of our ecclesiastical establishment were bound, as men and patriots, to stretch out the hand of benevolence to their fellow-subjects of every description. On the other side, lord Liverpool argued, that every government had a right to exclude from power those who were objects of its suspicion, and amenable to foreign authority: the house concurred with him in rejecting the

motion; and a similar one, urged by Mr. Grattan in the commons, whom he interested and electrified by his spirited effusions, met with the same fate. The advocates, however, of the complaining party were not discouraged: at a later period, Mr. Canning made a powerful speech in their favor, and carried a motion by a large majority, pledging the house to consider, early next session, the state of laws affecting the Roman catholics of Great Britain and Ireland; but when the marquis Wellesley made a similar proposal in the house of peers, it was powerfully opposed by lords Eldon, Ellenborough, and Sidmouth, and rejected.

Another subject also strongly interested the feelings of parliament, as well as the public. The continuance of outrages in several of the manufacturing counties provoked the enactment of a severe law, which made the breaking of frames, and administering of illegal oaths, a capital felony, and compelled the parties in whose houses frames should be broken, to furnish information to the magistrates. It was against the second reading of this bill on the twenty-seventh of February that lord Byron made his first address to the house of lords, in a strain of sarcasm more fitted to a popular meeting than to that dignified assembly. The measure was ably defended by the lord chancellor, who explained the error of the notion that the laboring classes were injured by the introduction of machinery: the bill was strongly opposed in the lower house by sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Whitbread, and sir Francis Burdett. As murder had, in several instances, been added to other crimes by the rioters, a special commission, as well as a military force, was sent into the disturbed districts; and many criminals, being convicted, were condemned to the extreme punishment of the law; though the greater part obtained a remission of their sentence.

These commotions being generally attributed to the operation of our orders in council, diminishing the demand for articles of British manufacture, numerous petitions were presented to both houses for a revocation of those edicts; and, in compliance with the general wish, a formal inquiry was instituted; but while it was depending, and while the power of ministers appeared more firmly fixed than ever, in the total estrangement¹ from his early friends manifested by

¹ This was effected by the tone which they took in debate; by their broad insinuations respecting court influence and intrigues, and especially by their intention of taking up the cause of the princess of Wales: on this subject there is a curious letter addressed

the regent, their leader was suddenly cut off, by a fate of the most tragical and melancholy kind. On the eleventh of May, Mr. Perceval was shot through the heart, as he was entering the lobby of the house of commons; when, after uttering a slight exclamation, he staggered a few paces, and in a short time expired: the assassin, whose name was Bellingham, making no attempt to escape, was immediately examined at the bar of the house; where apprehensions at first prevailed, that his atrocious act might be the commencement of an extensive conspiracy; it soon however appeared, that he was actuated solely by revenge, on account of a supposed injury: having, in a commercial visit to Russia, undergone what he considered an unjust imprisonment for debt, the refusal of our government to take cognisance of the transaction, for the purpose of redress, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he resolved to take the life of one of its most prominent members. On his trial, he displayed great self-possession; and when it was attempted to excuse the action, under the plea of insanity, he rejected the application of it to himself; though his perseverance in asserting a right to avenge his private wrongs showed that his moral perceptions on that point had been disturbed by long brooding over supposed injuries. After admitting the fact of assassination, denying that he had felt any malice toward Mr. Perceval, and declaring that he would rather have shot lord Leveson Gower, our late ambassador to Russia,—he was found guilty, and underwent the extreme sentence of the law. It is grievous to remark that probably no government exists which generally pays so little regard to the insults, injuries, or violence received by its subjects as that of Great Britain.²

The earl of Liverpool in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, delivered a message from the regent, recommending a parliamentary provision for the family of the

to his brother sir W. Scott by the lord chancellor, whose great favor at Carlton-house was now commencing. In this he says, 'the game of the princess of Wales is to be the grand sport for the remainder of this session. Her husband is furious indeed with indignation against the 'early friends:' and it is now, as we used to suppose it heretofore, that is, that he knows every word that is uttered at Blackheath or Kensington.'—Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 193.

² It is needless to multiply instances: the disgraceful affair at Bokhara, when two of our accomplished and devoted envoys were supposed to have been infamously murdered, and the mere investigation of this atrocious act was left to one private noble-minded individual, speaks volumes on the subject.

late premier: the former of these noblemen paid an affecting tribute to the memory of his departed friend, 'than whom he knew no man possessed of more virtues or fewer faults:' the latter, after an able encomium on Mr. Perceval's character, laid it down as a principle, that unless there had been some base misconduct on the part of a public servant, it was the duty of the house to extend its protection to any such, and defend him from public or private malignity. His lordship then moved a correspondent address to the regent, which Mr. Ponsonby was anxious to second; and all parties in the house bore willing testimony to the numerous virtues and courteous manners of this lamented victim of man's wild passions. An annuity of £2000 was settled on his widow; and the sum of £50,000 was ordered to be vested in trust for the benefit and use of his twelve children: subsequently, an annuity of £1000 was granted to the eldest son, to be doubled at the death of his mother; and a monument in Westminster Abbey was erected to Mr. Perceval at the public expense.

In consequence of the vacancy thus occasioned in the cabinet, overtures were made by lord Liverpool to the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning; but they declined to associate themselves with a ministry whose avowed sentiments on the catholic question were declared to be unchanged; and who were unwilling to prosecute the peninsular war with that vigor which the others required: their refusal was probably neither unexpected nor unacceptable to the regent and the Hertford party, who thought that by this demonstration they had done enough to satisfy public opinion: parliament however was not so easily duped; for a motion was made and carried in the commons by Mr. Stuart Wortley, for an address to his royal highness, praying that he would take measures calculated to form a strong and efficient government: in consequence, the marquis Wellesley received instructions to that effect: and he, through Mr. Canning, inquired of lord Liverpool, whether the existing ministers, or any of them, would entertain the proposal of an arrangement with him: when this was declined by the whole cabinet, irritated against the marquis, who had publicly stigmatised the incapacity of its late leader, he opened a negotiation with lords Grey and Grenville; and a personal conference ended in his being referred back by them for more direct and extensive powers. During a whole week they received no farther communication on the subject; but that time was employed by the household troops, in attempting to effect a reconciliation between

the Liverpool and Wellesley parties; for it was well known that the whig lords insisted on making a change in all the great officers of the royal establishment; deeming this measure indispensable for giving to a new government that character of stability, and those marks of constitutional support from the crown which were requisite for its efficiency in the public service: their endeavors, however, failed; and on the first of June lord Wellesley returned with a specific proposition, or offer of a section of the ministry, under what Mr. Elliot termed 'a partition treaty:' but lords Grey and Grenville, after consultation with their political friends, declined this proposal, as calculated to establish a system of counter-action in the cabinet, which, by compromising their characters, would produce disunion and weakness in the government.

Lord Wellesley's mission being thus terminated, earl Moira was next commissioned to negotiate with the refractory whigs; and a conference was fixed for the sixth of June; but his lordship had, in conversation with earl Spencer, previously declared a determination, not to admit any new arrangement of the household to be taken into consideration: lord Spencer indeed objected to this resolution as unprecedented and unconstitutional; and when he prepared lords Grey and Grenville for the objection, he expressed his opinion, coinciding with their own, that the household should be made a preliminary question.³ Lord Moira justified his tenacity in the retention of the state officers, by a fear lest the submitting them to consideration 'should countenance every ribald tale of scandal which had been circulated abroad;' not seeing that the course pursued would have precisely the effect which he professed himself anxious to avoid. It is justly observed by the author alluded to below, that there is something incomprehensible in the system which his lordship adopted. 'Is your royal highness prepared,' he said to the prince, 'if I should advise it, to part with the officers of your household?' The answer was, 'I am.' 'Then,' rejoined lord Moira, 'your royal highness shall not part with one of them;' ⁴ and having thus heroically or theatrically taken the responsibility upon himself, he proceeded on his inauspicious mission: this of course failed; and by his lordship's advice,

³ See this subject fully investigated in a clever work, written however with strong party feelings, intitled, *The Life and Reign of George IV.* by W. Wallace, vol. ii. p. 188, &c.

⁴ Mr. Canning's speech, June 11th.

the Perceval ministry was revived; the earl of Liverpool being appointed first lord of the treasury. It may be rash, says Mr. Wallace, to decide whether lord Moira was the dupe or the confederate of that secret cabal, whose game he was thus playing: but whatever doubts may be entertained respecting him, Sheridan seems to have been an accomplice, if not a main contriver, behind the curtain; and he had his reward—in neglect and poverty, and a death-bed unexampled for wretchedness and humiliation. The conduct of that miserable intriguer in this affair is considered indefensible even by his partial biographer: ‘lord Yarmouth,’ says Mr. Moore, ‘stated in the house of commons, that he had communicated to Mr. Sheridan the intention of the household to resign, with a view of having that intention conveyed to lords Grey and Grenville; and thus removing the sole ground on which they objected to accept office. Not only, however, did Sheridan endeavor to dissuade the noble vice-chamberlain from resigning; but, with an unfairness of dealing, which admits of no vindication, he withheld from the two leaders of opposition the intelligence thus meant to be conveyed to them; and when questioned by Mr. Tierney, as to the rumored intentions of the household to resign, offered to bet 500 guineas that there was no such step in contemplation.’ Thus an anti-catholic ministry was kept in place by the exertions of a man, who declared in a speech delivered this very session, ‘that his objection to the present ministry was, that they were avowedly arrayed and embodied against a principle,—that of concession to the catholics of Ireland,—which he must ever think essential to the safety of the empire.’ Mr. Moore ascribes this conduct to his personal feelings against the two noble lords, Grey and Grenville; but more especially to his implicit deference to the known wishes and feelings of that personage, who had now become the mainspring of all his movements, and whose spell over him was too strong even for his sense of character; observing, in his own beautiful language;—‘so fatal, too often, are royal friendships; whose attraction, like the loadstone-rock in Eastern fable, which drew the nails out of the luckiess ships that came near it, steals gradually away the strength by which character is held together; till at last it loosens at all points, and falls to pieces a wreck!’

A vehement outcry was raised by all parties against the whig leaders; and if there was any remnant of attachment, on which the regent’s favor depended, it now vanished for

ever; for their unlucky phrase of 'riding rough-shod through Carlton-house,' was not lost on a mind like his: their own famished subalterns bitterly inveighed against men who kept them from the more substantial fruits of office, through what seemed a childish vanity of making chamberlains and vice-chamberlains: the neutral party blamed them for withholding their services from the country in an hour of danger, on account of what was thought a mere point of form;—but the enmity of the invisible corps could not be increased: after all, however, those who know the intrigues of a court, and the ease with which the venom of party rancor is instilled into the ear of a sovereign, particularly one of an indolent and voluptuous character, will not be disposed to join in the clamor raised against these rejected statesmen. What general would be applauded for strengthening a central position, while he left his flanks open to the assault of his adversaries? Earl Spencer was a man whose opinion never could be despised; and it is sufficient to say, that the conduct adopted by lords Grey and Grenville was recommended by him: the whigs, however, were now destined to a very long exclusion from power; an exclusion, which lasted until those aristocratic party feelings, which rendered them obnoxious to George III. became so far weakened or dissolved, that they could stand forward as decided champions of the people: as soon as it was seen that a selfish system of corruption was endangering our institutions, the popular voice called them back to the helm, that by repairing and renovating those institutions, they might enable Great Britain to maintain that rank, as head of the great European family, to which an ardent love of constitutional liberty so justly intitles her.

Lord Liverpool had now arrived at the height of a subject's ambition; and whatever might be said respecting the conduct or principles of others, his elevation was satisfactory to the nation: there was no spot on his escutcheon, since he had never sought power with feverish anxiety, nor obtained it by unworthy arts: for more than twenty years he had worked his way towards it by distinguished parliamentary exertions; and during the last ten, he had fitted himself for its exercise by an able discharge of various duties: thus to the foundation of a solid and cultivated understanding, he had superadded the stores of great practical experience; while faction itself was unable to cast a slur on his moral or religious character: the strong attachment which he displayed to established institutions, and his opposition to that innovating spirit which began

to extend itself through society, was branded by some with the appellation of bigotry; but in lord Liverpool, it was a wise attachment: a conscientious opposition: when he took charge of the helm, the times were too full of danger for great internal changes; and during a long period afterwards, the nation itself was not ripe for them: perhaps no minister in this country can decidedly lead the people; so that the great glory of a statesman must ever consist in keeping pace with the reasonable wishes, and administering to the manifest wants of the community, whilst he moderates the ardor of zeal, and checks every unconstitutional attempt: as the appropriate time for change drew on, lord Liverpool began to relax in his opposition to the principles of innovation; and if the gloom of bigotry and the taint of corrupt selfishness still adhered to his cabinet, others were more in fault than him.

It was an auspicious era when the new minister was called to the direction of government: though the great continent of Europe, from the Tagus to the Beresina, was now bristling with arms, and red with slaughter, defeat in every quarter was humbling the oppressor of Europe, and leading toward a reorganisation of its constituent parts: affairs therefore warranted the adoption of energetic measures; and, to the honor of the regent, he entered heart and soul into the cause, determining zealously to second the efforts of his great commander in the peninsula, and to encourage ministers in drawing forth the almost unlimited resources of his kingdom. In fact the surprising ability of that commander was now becoming better appreciated, and his advice more regarded. If it was the glory of lord Chatham, by ministerial energy, to have created generals, it was the still greater glory of a British general to infuse life, spirit, and propriety of conduct into a ministerial cabinet, little superior, as regarded warlike affairs, to the notorious Aulic council.

Among the first acts of lord Liverpool was that of filling up his administration; in which, the earl of Harrowby was made president of the council; Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Sidmouth, secretary for the home department: this latter appointment has elicited from a caustic historian, already quoted, the remark; that 'a man who ascends to the first rank, and falls back to the second, is seldom really qualified even for a secondary place.' Lord Bathurst, from being president of the board of trade, became secretary for war and colonies; and Mr. Peel was made secretary for

Ireland: the leader of Government in the house of commons was lord Castlereagh. Thus the cabinet settled down; and thus it remained till the death of lord Liverpool fifteen years afterwards; without any material change of policy, except a recognition of the catholic question as an open one; and without any important addition to its strength, except the return of Canning to office in 1816, the entrance of the duke of Wellington into the cabinet as master-general of the ordnance two years later, and that of sir Robert Peel as home secretary in 1822.

On the seventeenth of June, the new financial minister brought forward his budget, which had been nearly arranged by his predecessor: the charges he stated at £7,025,700 for Ireland, and £55,350,648 for Great Britain; an enormous, he might say, a terrible amount! but great as it was, the resources of this country were still equal to it: by an enumeration of ways and means, he produced a result of £55,390,460, including a loan of £15,650,000: previously, however, a loan had been obtained, to the amount of £6,789,625; which, added to the new one, and to exchequer bills funded this year, created an annual interest of £1,905,924; to provide for which, he proposed to discontinue the bounty on printed goods exported, and to increase the duties on tanned hides, glass, tobacco, sales by auction, postage of letters, and assessed taxes, the aggregate product of which he estimated at £1,903,000: the augmentation of the duty on leather was strongly opposed; but the intire budget received the sanction of the house.

A bill introduced by lord Castlereagh on the tenth of July, to amend or repeal certain intolerant statutes relating to religious worship and dissenting teachers; with another for improving the ecclesiastical courts in England, received the sanction of the legislature: the act for prohibiting the grant of offices in reversion was renewed for two years; and a bill for abolishing sinecure offices, executing by deputy, did away with that of paymaster of widows' pensions: an act also passed, by which the payment of bank notes, in or out of court, was declared legal to the staying of an arrest; and its provisions were extended to Ireland.

Returns under the population act were laid before parliament; whence it appeared, that in Great Britian, the total population in 1801 amounted to 10,472,048 souls, and in 1811 to 11,911,644; showing an increase of 1,439,596 residents; or, with the addition of men serving abroad in the army and navy, of 1,609,498 persons. These results revived

the important question of population compared with its means of subsistence: by accounts produced about this time, it appeared, that during eleven years, from 1775 to 1786, the average quantity of grain imported was 564,143 quarters; from 1786 to 1798 it was 1,136,101 quarters; and from 1799 to 1810, including three years of scarcity, 1,471,003: the average prices were, in the first quarter, thirty shillings per quarter; in the second, forty shillings; in the third, sixty shillings; and during the last year, no less a sum than £4,271,000 went out of the country to purchase sustenance for its inhabitants. At this time however it must be remembered, that the tracts of land not brought into cultivation were immense; and the improvements in husbandry were advanced but a little way toward that perfection to which they have subsequently attained.

Though lord Liverpool had been a strenuous advocate for the orders in council, he was now inclined to consider it better policy to revoke them. The regent had declared, that whenever it should appear, by an authentic act of the French government, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were absolutely and unconditionally repealed, our orders should be no longer enforced: but a doubt arose, whether any act answering to that description had actually appeared; for the American envoy had merely produced the copy of an instrument, purporting to be an edict of the preceding year, which revoked the decrees as far as they concerned vessels of the United States: after some deliberation, however, it was determined that this should be considered an authentic document; and the offensive regulations were suspended, on condition of the repeal of those restrictive acts by which the republicans had marked their resentment: but it unfortunately happened that the person who now directed the councils of the United States, was as inimical to the government of Great Britain as he was devoted to the views and interests of Bonaparte: in the midst, therefore, of a negotiation for the adjustment of differences, and before the revocation of our orders could be officially announced, war was declared by the president; and the world saw with surprise the inconsistency of a government calling itself free, —a government raised and cemented by the blood of brave and free men,—leaguering itself with the military despotism of France, and plunging the country into the miseries of a war with their transatlantic brethren, to oblige and gratify Napoleon.

The troops of the republic, under general Hull, having

begun the campaign with an irruption into Upper Canada, were baffled in their immediate views; but, having passed the river Detroit, and ravaged the neighboring territory, they took up a defensive position. Sir George Prevost, the governor, had made no preparation to repel invasion; and major-general Brock, who had his station near the menaced frontier, was so ill provided with means of defence, that he could only assemble 330 regulars, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, for immediate operations: with these forces, however, he resolved to attack the hostile station, and quickly profited by the panic which he produced. Hull felt so much alarm at the defection of savage chiefs, who had given promises of neutrality, that he proposed a negotiation; and, at length, surrendered his whole force, amounting to 2300 men, with 33 pieces of artillery: this inauspicious commencement of the war did not discourage the Americans, whose animosity and resentment stimulated them to persevere in the contest which they had provoked; and on the thirteenth of October, a second army repeating the attempt on Canada, took Queen's town; but disappointment and calamity soon followed this partial success: a small British force marched to chastise the intruders, who, being thrown into confusion by a spirited attack, were compelled to surrender, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded: general Brock fell on the field of honor, as he was gallantly cheering his men; and thus all attempts made by the republicans to annex Canada to their union, failed with disgrace.

The Americans consoled themselves for these disasters by their temporary success at sea; a success chiefly due to the great superiority of their frigates in size, weight of metal, and number of men: vessels which they rated as sloops of war were equal to frigates, and their frigates to ships of the line; though it is not to be denied, that they were manœuvred with such skill as would have done honor to any officers in the British navy. The first action was fought on the twentieth of August, between the *Guerrière*, captain Dacres, and the *Constitution*, captain Hull: the former was rated at thirty-eight guns, but had forty-nine mounted; her gun-deck battery consisting of eighteen-pounders, with thirty-two pounder carronades on her quarter deck; her complement being 300 men: the *Constitution* was rated at forty-four guns, but mounted fifty-six; her guns being twenty-four pounders, and her complement of men 450. The American frigate, as well as some others, had been originally intended for a line-of-battle ship; and her dimensions were equal to those of a British seventy-

four : besides, the *Guerrière* had been long at sea, and was not in good fighting order : soon after the commencement of the action, she felt the effect of the enemy's superior weight of metal ; and, having lost her mizen-mast, became quite unmanageable : but she did not strike until she was in a sinking condition ; being set on fire and burnt by the enemy. Our ministers were justly censured for want of foresight, in not having been prepared with ships of sufficient size, or manned with sufficient crews, to cope with their antagonists ; since it was well known what kind of frigates the Americans had built ; and how they manned them with picked crews, composed in great part of British seamen, tempted to desert by large rewards and promises of protection : they forgot, too, that war, though it ought to be commenced only when every method to avoid it has been tried in vain, should, when begun, be carried on with promptitude, activity, and vigor ; especially against such a people as American republicans.⁵ Complaints respecting the mode in which this was conducted, became augmented, when the *Macedonian*, another ship of the same class as the *Guerrière*, was captured by the 'United States' frigate, built also with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship, mounting thirty long twenty-four pounders on her main-deck, and twenty-two forty-two pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and forecastle, with howitzer guns in her tops, and her complement consisting of 478 picked men. Commodore Decatur, wishing to reap the full advantage of his heavier metal, skillfully manœuvred, so as to avoid coming to close quarters ; and when captain Carden, after an hour, brought his opponent to close action, he felt still more the superiority of force : having maintained an obstinate combat for two hours and a half, his rigging being cut to pieces, his mizen-mast shot away, several

⁵ If these republicans, ever grasping, vindictive, and unjust, do drive us, contrary to all our inclinations, into a war on account of Oregon, or any other of their usurpations, it is to be hoped that our ministers, whoever they may be, will take it up in earnest, and prosecute it instantly with energy, *on a large scale* ; for this will always be found true *economy*, as well as actual *mercy*, in the end : more especially it is to be hoped, that our admiralty will not, as so often has been the case, be found wanting ; and that they will not mismanage that noble arm of British power—the navy. With our iron steamers we need no longer subject our troops to the calamities which they endured at New Orleans ; while that city, and the whole course of the Mississippi, with its vast tributaries, would lie open to our advance. God, however, in his mercy grant, that better counsels may still prevail ; and that war between kindred nations may no more pollute the annals of mankind.

shots received between wind and water, with many guns and a large portion of his crew disabled, he was obliged to strike his flag; and the prize was carried, amidst unbounded exultation, into an American port. Our naval armaments on the lakes were attended by similar disasters; for which the lords of the British Admiralty, who till very lately have been the worst servants and the worst masters in our government, justly deserved impeachment, persisting, as they did, in a course so treacherous to their country, even after its shameful results had become manifest: but neither ministers nor people expected a long continuance of this war; since it was well known, that in the northern states of the union, there was a large and powerful party averse to it, as prejudicial to their interests; though the southern states, being less connected with, or dependent on English commerce, supported Jefferson's policy. Proposals, apparently conciliatory, were made by both parties, without producing even a suspension of hostilities; while no apology was made by the American government for its reprehensible practice of granting certificates of citizenship to British seamen; nor any allowance for the embarrassment in which our ministry had been placed, through the violence of Bonaparte's decrees, and the necessity of retaliation: it appeared, from a declaration of the regent, that, as a preliminary to any treaty, the president demanded us to renounce, for ever, the right of search for British seamen, which could not fairly be disputed or invalidated; and this, on his sole assurance, that a law should be enacted to prevent such seamen from entering the American service in future. An exclusive reliance, however, on a democratic state, for the preservation of so vital an interest, involved a greater degree of confidence than could reasonably be expected; and the proposal was rejected, together with a claim of indemnity for the arbitrary detention or condemnation of American vessels. A second application met with a similar refusal; and, in answer to three distinct charges of aggression, it was stated, that the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, which was fired into by a British officer for refusing to submit to a search, was improperly brought forward, because due reparation had been offered and accepted;—that a pretended mission of Mr. Henry, to effect a disjunction of the political league which united the republican states, had neither origin nor support in the British government;—and, that the assertion was equally untrue, which imputed to that government any instigation of the savages to hostilities. These allegations, however, said the prince, are not the real causes

of the present contest; which will rather be found in that spirit of partiality, which prompts the American government to assist an aggressive tyranny of France, and inflame its people against the defensive measures of Great Britain. He then noticed the arbitrary conduct of the French ruler toward the United States; and their ready, abject submission to every act of violence and injustice done by that pretended friend; adding, that from their community of origin and interest with Great Britain, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, they were the last power in which he could have expected to find a willing instrument and an abettor of French tyranny. The disposition of the republican government was strongly shown, in the nomination of Mr. Joel Barlow, an inveterate enemy of Great Britain, and admirer of her antagonist, as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France: and so eager was this gentleman in the prosecution of his designs, that, anticipating the certainty of Bonaparte's success and the ruin of Great Britain, he followed that invader even into Russia, that he might secure his favor, and profit by his conquests. This step, however, was fatal to himself; for, overcome by the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigues of travelling, he died at Zarnavica, an obscure village in Poland, without having had any opportunity to effect the object of his mission.

We now come to the commencement of the last grand act in Bonaparte's career, his Russian expedition. An account of this gigantic contest is not compatible with the limits of our work: its origin has been already alluded to, in the indignation with which Alexander and his powerful subjects viewed the sacrifice of commerce to the continental system; and in the great game which Napoleon was playing for universal empire: its progress must be briefly detailed, so far as it tended to influence the affairs of the continent, in which our country had, for many years, taken a leading part. Its first effect was a renewal of amity and alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden; when the good offices of the former power were exerted in promoting a peace between the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, by which a very considerable number of Russian troops were liberated for the defence of their native land. Early in the spring of this year, large bodies of French soldiers were continually marching through Germany: these, being joined by contingents of the Rhenish confederation, proceeded toward the Vistula, after leaving garrisons in the principal cities and fortresses of Prussia; with which power,

as well as with Austria, a treaty of alliance had been concluded, engaging each to assist the French emperor with numerous forces: to meet this impending storm, the Russian monarch put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase of the twenty-third of March, ordered a levy of two men in 500 throughout his extensive dominions. Professions of peace, as usual, preceded hostilities; Napoleon making offers both to England and to Russia: those to the former were despised; requiring, as they did, our recognition of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain, and of Murat as king of Naples; whilst Alexander, in reply, demanded that the French troops should evacuate East Prussia. On the eighth of May therefore Bonaparte, accompanied by his august consort, set out from Paris, and proceeded, by way of Mentz, Wurtzburg, and Freyburg, to Dresden; where, after having received the homage of crowned heads on his journey, he was met by the emperor and empress of Austria; by the kings of Saxony and Prussia; while inferior monarchs, princes, and archdukes, crowded the ante-chamber, and made obeisance to this mighty conqueror: it seemed as if fortune offered the incense of this last pageant to his imperial pride, in order to make her desertion of him more severely felt. On the twenty-eighth of May, the count de Narbonne, who had been despatched on a pacificatory mission to the czar, returned with a declaration, that he had found him inflexible, 'neither elated nor despondent.' Alexander, indeed, not only felt that his cause was just, but that his determination was necessary; for the hostility of Napoleon was not to be so much dreaded by the autocrat, as the resentment of his own nobles. On the twenty-ninth, the emperors of Austria and France left Dresden: the one returned to Vienna; the other hurried toward the Vistula, which he passed on the sixth of June; and published a deceptive declaration to the Poles, announcing his determination to restore their ancient kingdom, and inviting them to rally round his standard: 300,000 infantry, and 60,000 cavalry, all effective troops, including a *parc* of 1200 guns, with a body of artillerymen 13,000 strong, beside that attached to each separate corps, did Napoleon carry against the dominions of his antagonist: 40,000 men also were left in Prussia, under the command of Augereau; while 60,000 more were in different garrisons, and on the march, from various parts of France and Germany.

On the twenty-fourth of June, the French army crossed the Niemen, never doubting that the Russians would try their fortune, as at Austerlitz and Friedland in a pitched battle: it

was, therefore, with surprise, that they saw these once ardent warriors evacuating province after province, and exercising no other hostility, but that of clearing the country, and carrying off its provisions: Napoleon thus entered Wilna without having struck a blow; and here he lost his last opportunity of establishing the independence of Poland, and securing the hearts of its inhabitants: the diet of Warsaw, after declaring all the treaties of dismemberment to be null and void, addressed him with confidence in their cause, and in his decision; but whether he wished to leave the door still open for accommodation with Russia, or dare not break the alliance with his father-in-law, which he had just secured by guaranteeing the integrity of his dominions, he answered the petition vaguely and obscurely: thus the Poles were disappointed, dissatisfied, and prevented from making any national efforts to assist him either in his advance or retreat.

Bonaparte calculated on finishing the campaign by September: his anxiety to reach Moscow was excessive; because he imagined that his occupation of that great capital would awe malcontents both at Paris and other European courts; while it might perhaps humble the czar himself to sue for peace: unexpected delay, however, in his progress, occasioned by the want of magazines, the badness of roads, the interception of escorts, with several severe repulses, and, above all, by the flames of Smolensko, and a system of devastation on which the Russian army acted, allowed him to advance by that time, no farther than to the celebrated field of Borodino; and there the Russians, under Kutusoff, departed from their plan of incessant retreat: for this determination they had adequate motives; the strength of their position being such, that victory itself must necessarily cost the French a dreadful loss of men, while defeat would save the ancient capital of Muscovy. The number of combatants seems to have been about 120,000 on each side, and the line of battle nearly three miles in extent: success was dearly purchased by the French, who lost eight generals, in this the most sanguinary combat of modern times: the chief honor of the day rested with marshal Ney, who was created on the field prince of the Moskwa; but the night of victory was one of despondency to Napoleon, who saw, in seven or eight hundred prisoners, and a score of broken cannon, all his trophies: here were no brilliant results, like those of Austerlitz or Marengo; and the conqueror found that his antagonist would not dispense with future conflicts and more active struggles: Moscow, however, was won; and the French

emperor took up his residence in the ancient palace of the czars;—that limit of his expedition, and tomb of his greatness. Here he again made offers of peace to Alexander, in a tone of affected moderation, and with professions of great personal admiration: he felt, indeed, the urgency of returning westward; but hoped to receive such an answer, as might enable him to give an appearance of concession to this measure of necessity: he was caught, however, in his own snare; for the answer was purposely delayed till the season of retreat was past: the fiat of the Almighty had already gone forth; and, 'fire and hail, snow and vapors, wind and storm, fulfilling his word,' were prompt to execute his vengeance on the despoilers of Europe. The flames of Moscow drove out those countless multitudes to perish in the midst of northern snows, from which their leader escaped, but only for a short period, to carry the news of his own defeat and disgrace to Paris: before the close of this year, Russia was cleared of the enemy. Murat was left in the supreme command, which he basely deserted, and fled to Naples: it then devolved on a far better man, the viceroy of Italy, who could scarcely, at first, collect a thousand men capable of bearing arms, behind the Vistula: only a few reserves, and the garrisons of fortresses, were remaining; but a sudden insurrection was prevented by these, as well as by the countries still occupied, and by the certainty that Napoleon himself had escaped: some powerful impulse was even yet necessary; and this was afforded by Russia, when Alexander, pursuing the enemy even beyond the boundaries of his empire, gave that signal for the emancipation of Europe. It must here be observed, that, among all the hardships of this and the ensuing campaign, few examples of deficient zeal, still fewer of breach of duty, occurred among the French officers; and desertion, when it took place among the soldiers, proceeded from unavoidable necessity, scarcely ever from a conviction that they were wantonly sacrificed by their chief. By opening to them the road to promotion, by affecting to share their sufferings and dangers, Napoleon had succeeded in persuading his army that he loved them with a paternal tenderness; and these unhappy men were ready to attribute their misfortunes to any other cause than his extravagant ambition: even in Spain, notwithstanding the draughts of old soldiers, and losses sustained in frequent defeats, forces were collected, which pressed our army closely in the field, kept possession of Catalonia, and disputed the Pyrenean passes with us to the last: what would have been the solidity of the

fabric, which this oppressor of nations had constructed for the subjugation of Europe, if its foundation had been good !

We must now revert to the affairs of the peninsula: and here it may perhaps be asked, why Bonaparte, who could collect together such a force as we have been just describing, and was so desirous of accomplishing the reduction of Spain, did not complete its conquest before he encountered a new enemy in the north? The answer is, that the collection of those numerous armies in the north was necessary to the maintenance of his ascendancy; which would soon have received a violent shock, if he had ventured to withdraw any considerable number of his legions to the peninsula: even Prussia and Austria, whom he overawed by these hosts, and at last obliged to come forward in his cause, would in that case have quickly taken arms against him. His great, his fatal error was in attacking Spain at all: for that country, which might have been conquered without arms, was the grave of his veteran troops, and occupied so many of his best forces, that, without giving up his idea of conquest there, and confessing his error, which the nature of Napoleon forbade, he could not resist the inundation which burst into France over the banks of the Rhine.

Before the close of last year, the Spanish regency had fallen into universal contempt, as also had the Cortes: though vast sums were received, every service was neglected, and the treasury declared empty; while the temper of the public was soured towards England, and all things tended so much to anarchy, that sir Henry Wellesley declared 'Spanish affairs to be worse than they had been at any period of the war.' In November, the public cry for a new regency, supported by the British ambassador, became general: nevertheless on various pretexts it was deferred; while the democratic party gathered strength in the Cortes, and the anti-English feeling appeared more widely diffused than ever, until the church and aristocracy perceived that the secret policy of England was in unison with their own. 'It was so,' says colonel Napier, 'even to the upholding of the *inquisition*; which, as was ridiculously asserted, had become objectionable only in name; as if, while the frame-work of tyranny existed, there could ever be wanting the will to fill it up.' In this state of affairs, the negotiation for colonial mediation was used by the Spaniards merely as a ground for demanding money and other succors, which they employed in fitting out new expeditions against their revolted colonies: the complaints of the British legation were totally

disregarded; and so far did contempt shown by the Spanish government for their allies proceed, that La Peña was acquitted of all misconduct at Barosa, and would have been immediately employed, if our ambassador had not threatened to quit Cadiz.

Foreseeing the fatal consequences of this state of things, if suffered to continue, sir H. Wellesley sent Mr. Vaughan, the secretary of legation, to acquaint his own government with the facts, and to solicit a more decided course of policy; but he made it an especial request that all subsidies should be settled by treaty; and it was only now that the profligate and extravagant system introduced by Canning and Castlereagh was amended. The departure of Mr. Vaughan for England, which alarmed the Spanish government, and Blake's disaster at Valencia, aided the efforts of the British minister; so that on the twenty-first of January, after a secret discussion of twenty-four hours, a new regency of five members was proclaimed: O'Donnel, who was one of them, and had considerable influence, was friendly to the British alliance; so that all things went on well for a short time, until it was discovered that the furtive object was to procure another loan; and when this did not succeed, the old disputes broke out afresh; democratic spirit and anti-English feelings increased in the Cortes; while the new regency, as violent as their predecessors with respect to America, disregarded British mediation; and having secretly organised an expedition against their colonies, furnished it with artillery sent by England for the French war: then, under another pretence, they demanded money of our minister to forward this iniquitous folly.⁶

In Portugal, most of the evils heretofore described existed at the end of last year:⁷ the return of the royal family had

⁶ Napier, vol. iv. p. 353.

⁷ About that time lord Wellington thus wrote in a dispatch to Mr. Stuart:—'I assure you that, in a short time, there will be no Portuguese army left if all the military departments are not reformed as proposed: there is Barbacena's *brigade* not so numerous as one of our *squadrons*. Everything else is the same: the sick and wounded are left to be taken care of by our medical officers; the artillery have no mules, and the guns must be sent away; for they have no ammunition, and we are at this moment *picking up the French ammunition* in our camps. &c. I am involved in a most serious situation; and it is quite impossible for me to allow matters to go on as they are. The Portuguese army are *not paid*, and many men, particularly of Pack's brigade, have consequently deserted.—See Wellington's Dispatches, vol. v. p. 1.

been put off; and all reforms, military and financial, proposed or commenced, were thwarted or retarded: new quarrels also had arisen in the Brazils, where our own envoy, lord Strangford, was under the influence of the Souza faction; and nothing but lord Wellington's strong remonstrance to the regent, backed by his brother's vigorous diplomacy, would have brought the court of Rio Janeiro to reason: its present submission was considered only as a nominal concession of power to allies and protectors, which was yet to be ripened into real authority: both lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart looked forward to future difficulties; and they were not mistaken: long before the conclusion of this year, the provisions of the country occupied by our troops, between the Coa and the Agueda, were all exhausted; and the continued negligence of the government, with respect to means of transport, rendered it impossible to bring up field magazines from the points of water carriage to the army: lord Wellington therefore had been obliged, contrary to all military rules, to separate his divisions in face of the enemy; and to spread his troops, especially the cavalry, even to the Mondego and valley of the Douro. To cover this dangerous proceeding, he retained a considerable post beyond the Coa; while the state of the roads, Hill's expedition in Estremadura, and some other circumstances, prevented Marmont from making any forward movements against him: in this war of positions, the British general had kept the advantage: by taking post near Ciudad Rodrigo, while Hill moved about Badajos, he had in a great degree paralysed the exertions of three armies, under Dorsenne, Marmont, and Soult.

Meantime, the works of Almeida, were so far restored, as to secure it from sudden attack; while, under cover and pretext of bringing up stores for that fortress, preparations were secretly made for an assault on Ciudad Rodrigo. 'Lord Wellington's moral situation,' says the peninsular historian, 'was simply that of a man who felt that all depended on himself; that he must, by some rapid and unexpected stroke, effect in the field what his brother could not effect in the cabinet.' His determination was soon taken; for while the French armies, occupied on all sides, were spread over an immense tract of country; Marmont, deceived by the apparently careless attitude of his principal opponent, had left Ciudad Rodrigo unprotected: against this devoted city therefore Wellington marched, in the beginning of January, with the first, third, fourth, and light divisions, aided by Pack's Portuguese: the fortress was to have been

invested on the sixth; but the weather was so dreadful, that numbers of men perished on the march by cold and fatigue; besides, the indolence of the natives was so great, that the carters occupied two days in moving their empty vehicles over ten miles of flat ground: while it was dangerous to find fault with men who deserted on occasion of the slightest offence:⁸ the place therefore was not invested till the eighth; on the evening of which an advanced work, covering the point of attack, was gallantly stormed by the fifty-second regiment, with a few brave Portuguese volunteers, under lieutenant-colonel Colborne; and this allowed the first parallel to be driven within 600 yards of the wall. The siege was carried on by the four divisions alternately for twenty-four hours; and each had to march twelve miles every morning to the trenches: no interruption was allowed to take place from the tremendous storm of shot and shells incessantly sent by the enemy during operations; but the breaching batteries were rapidly erected, lest Marmont should interrupt the progress of the siege: the sacrifice of life in this instance appeared less serious than that of time, which would have been followed by an aggravation of the former: on the eleventh, two breaches were declared practicable, and the assault was committed to the third and light divisions, the flower of the British army; Pack's Portuguese being ordered to make a false attack on the opposite side of the town: 500 volunteers, commanded by major Manners of the seventy-fourth, with a forlorn hope, under Mr. Mackie of the eighty-eighth, composed the storming party of the third, or 'fighting division:' while the light division sent 300 on the same desperate service, led by major George Napier, with a forlorn hope of twenty-five under lieutenant Gurwood, both of the fifty-second regiment. Picton and Craufurd, two of the most intrepid spirits that ever led brave men into action, headed their divisions up to the breaches; each of which, after a wild and deadly struggle, was nobly won; but the latter officer fell by a musket ball just as the shout of victory burst on his ear; and Picton's second in command, the gallant general Mackinnon, was slain by the explosion of a magazine, spreading death alike among friends and foes, at the very foot of the rampart. A fearful pause followed this event; but it was brief: the breach was widened by the accident; and our troops, rushing forward over dead and dying men, carried the intrenchments behind which the enemy was ensconced: two guns on

⁸ See Wellington Dispatches, vol. v. p. 461.

each side of the breach, being isolated by a wide gap in the wall, commenced a destructive fire of grape and canister on the assailants; but these also were seized, and all obstructions gave way to the determined valor of British soldiers: the light division, with equal courage and activity, had surmounted its difficulties, and was soon met by the third; which, on gaining the intrenchments, made a flank movement to its right. Almost at the same moment, the Portuguese brigade under Pack, whose gallantry was conspicuous, rushed into the town; having turned his feigned attack on the castle into a real one, when he met with less resistance than he expected: the French therefore were taken in rear, and surrounded on all sides: still however they fought in the streets and houses, from a conviction that little mercy would be shown by troops heated and excited by so obstinate a defence; and according to the accounts of all who witnessed the dreadful scenes of this night, its terrors could hardly be surpassed. 'Throwing off,' says colonel Napier, 'the restraints of discipline, the troops committed frightful excesses: the town was fired in three or four places; the soldiers menaced their officers, and shot each other; intoxication soon increased the tumult; and at last, the fury rising to absolute madness, a fire was wilfully lighted in the middle of the great magazine; when the town, and all within it, would have been blown to atoms; but for the energetic courage of some officers, and a few soldiers, who still preserved their senses.'⁹ The duration of this siege was only twelve days, being half the time calculated on at first by the British general:

⁹ This account is thus confirmed by captain Kincaid, in his interesting *Adventures of the Rifle Brigade*:—'Finding,' he says, 'the current of soldiers setting toward the centre of the town, I followed the stream, which conducted me into the great square; on one side of which the late garrison were drawn up as prisoners: and the rest of it was filled with British and Portuguese intermixed, without any order or regularity. I had been there but a very short time, when they all commenced firing, without any ostensible cause: some fired at the doors and windows, some at the roofs of houses, and others at the clouds; and, at last, some heads began to be blown from their shoulders in the general hurricane; when the voice of sir Thomas Picton, with the power of twenty trumpets, began to threaten with his usual energy, while colonel Bernard, colonel Cameron, and some other active officers, were carrying his orders into effect with a strong hand; for seizing the broken barrels of muskets which were lying about in great abundance, they belabored every fellow most unmercifully about the head who attempted either to load or fire, and finally succeeded in reducing them to order.'

the loss of the allies was about 1200 soldiers and ninety officers, in killed and wounded; while, on the side of the enemy, there fell 300, and 1500 were made prisoners: immense stores of ammunition also, with 150 pieces of artillery, including Marmont's battering train, were captured. Craufurd and Mackinnon, lamented by the whole army, were buried with military honors in the breaches of the fortress; but to recompense an exploit so boldly undertaken and so gloriously finished, the commander-in-chief was created duke of Ciudad Rodrigo by the Spanish government, marquis of Torres Vedras by the Portuguese, and earl of Wellington by his own.

When order had been restored, workmen were set to repair the breaches and level the intrenchments, while means were taken to provision the place. On the eleventh, Marmont arrived at Valladolid: on the fifteenth, he first heard of the siege; and the twenty-sixth arrived, before he knew that the fortress was lost: his troops were much harassed by ruinous marches in winter: many detachments were cut off by guerilla parties; the regular Spanish troops were also put in motion; and it became impossible for him to move against Ciudad Rodrigo, before the place was secured against all attacks. Our general's eyes were next turned towards Badajos, which he was desirous to invest early in March; because then inundation from the rivers in Beira would enable him to carry his troops without risk into the Alemtejo; and a similar cause would impede the junction of the enemy's forces in Estremadura. The obstacles which lord Wellington had to contend with in this enterprise, were such as could only have been overcome by talents which rose with difficulties:¹⁰ the greatest was a want of specie, which crippled all his operations: but he was now aided by fortune; for Marmont, having lost his emissaries at Ciudad Rodrigo,¹¹ and being unable to measure his adversary's abilities and energy, had dispersed his troops, in order that he might more easily feed them; and he appeared to dread no farther operations on the part of the allies.

Arrangements having been completed, Wellington set off for Elvas, which he reached on the eleventh of March, and prepared to invest Badajos, though all his troops and stores were not yet arrived; but even now his march being ten days

¹⁰ The reader will find them fully described in colonel Napier's fourth volume.

¹¹ Papers indicating them were discovered at the capture of the town, when they were all barbarously massacred by the vile Carlos d'España.

later than he had designed, brought his operations into the violent equinoctial rains. This, says colonel Napier, was one of the evils produced by the incredibly vexatious conduct of the Portuguese regency: there was no want of the means of transport; but as the government would not force magistrates to do their duty, the latter either refused to procure carts, or obliged the poorer class to supply them; from which oppression the peasants naturally endeavoured to escape by flight: thus all arrangements for investing Badajos on the sixth of March had been made: but the rich town of Evora, which had not seen the face of an enemy for more than three years, refused to supply any carriages at all; and the operation was necessarily put off till the seventeenth.¹² It was in vain that the British general remonstrated and threatened, or that Mr. Stuart exerted himself with equal vigor to infuse energy into this extraordinary government in matters either of small or vital importance: insolent anger and falsehood, disgraceful subterfuge and stolid indifference, from the highest to the lowest functionary, met them at every turn: even the iron strength of Wellington's body and mind were strained in the struggle, and he fell into a sickness; from which, however, he recovered after a few days. 'The critical nature of the war,' says its historian, 'may here be judged of; for no man could have taken his place at such a moment: no man, however daring or skilful, would have voluntarily plunged into difficulties, which were likely to drive Wellington from the contest.'

On the fifteenth of March, pontoons were laid over the Guadiana; and next day Beresford crossed it, drove in the enemy's posts, and invested Badajos with the third, fourth, and light divisions; which, with a brigade of Hamilton's Portuguese, amounted to 15,000 men. Soult being before the Isla, Drouet at Villafranca, and Daricau near Medellin: general Graham, passing the river with three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, marched on Llerena; while Hill moved by Merida on Almendralejos: these covering corps, including near 5000 cavalry, amounted to about 30,000; and as the fifth division was now on its march from Beira, the whole army presented about 57,000 sabres and bayonets, of which 20,000 were Portuguese. Castaños had repaired to Galicia; but the

¹² 'At this moment (says lord Wellington) I am destroying the equipments of our army in transporting the stores from Elvas to the ground of the siege, because no assistance is given by the country, or assistance that is quite inadequate to the demand and wants of the service.'—*Dispatches*, vol. v. p. 562.

fifth Spanish army, under Morillo, passed down the Portuguese frontier to the Lower Guadiana, intending to fall on Seville, when Soult should leave it to succor Badajos: as the allies advanced, Drouet marched in the direction of La Serena and Medellin, intending to keep open the communication with Marmont by Truxillo. Hill then halted at Almendralejos, and Graham took post at Zafra; but Marmont had moved most of his troops in the direction of Valladolid; and it soon appeared that the French army of Portugal would not act in conjunction with that of the south. It would be incompatible with the limits of this work to give a complete detail of the energetic and skilful operations conducted on both sides, in this celebrated siege; but the reader will find them described, as the events of no other siege ever were described; in colonel Napier's admirable account of it. General Phillipon, than whom no governor ever defended a city with greater skill and courage, possessed a garrison of 5000 men, and had also improved the defences of the place by every possible resource of art, since the last attack. The plan fixed on by the British commander was to breach the bastions of Trinidad and Santa Maria, after the advanced fort of Picurina should have been stormed; and then to point all the guns against the connecting curtain of those bastions, which was of weaker masonry, that a third breach also might be made: a storming party was employed to turn any intrenchments behind the breaches in the bastions; and though the ditch was discovered to be here eighteen feet deep, such was the general's confidence in his troops, and in his own resources for aiding their efforts, that he resolved to storm the place without blowing in the counterscarp. The battering-train, of fifty-two pieces, was directed by that able officer, major Dickson: of 900 gunners present, 600 were Portuguese; but 150 men of signal bravery volunteered from the third division to act as sappers: the direction of the siege was given to Picton: while generals Kempt, Colville, and Bowes alternately commanded in the trenches. Late in the night of the seventeenth, 1800 men, protected by a guard of 2000, broke ground at the distance of 160 yards from the Picurina fort; and as a tempest stifled the sound of their pick-axes, a communication 4000 feet in length, was formed; and a parallel of 600 yards was opened, three feet six inches wide, and three feet deep. Next night, two batteries were traced out; the parallel was prolonged right and left; and on the nineteenth, a sortie was made by the garrison, in which they left 300 killed or wounded; while the besiegers lost about

half that number : among the wounded, was colonel Fletcher, chief engineer.

The trenches, during greater part of the siege, were half full of water, by reason of the heavy rains, which also impeded its progress : but notwithstanding such weather, and the uninterrupted fire of the enemy, the besiegers were enabled to open six batteries, mounting twenty-eight guns, on the ninth day after the investment, by which the scene was rendered one of awful grandeur : but the result of a siege is said to be always certain, unless some diversion be effected from without ; and the only calculation to be made, is the manner in which it can be conducted with the greatest expedition and least sacrifice of life. On the night of the twenty-fifth, Fort Picurina, being much dilapidated, was attacked and bravely carried by 500 select men of the 'fighting division,' under major-general Kempt, but led in three detachments by the honorable captain Powys, and majors Shaw and Rudd : the fire which met these assailants was very destructive : but nothing could subdue their courage and perseverance ; so vehement indeed was their attack, that the enemy forgot, or had not time, to roll down the shells and other combustibles arranged on the ramparts. Phillipon, says colonel Napier, did not conceal from his garrison the danger arising from this loss : but he stimulated their courage, by reminding them, how worse than death it was to be the inmate of an English hulk ! 'an appeal,' he adds, with too much justice, 'which must have been deeply felt ; for the annals of civilised nations furnish nothing more inhuman toward captives of war than the prison-ships of England.'

The fire of the captured fort was now turned against the place ; a new communication from the first parallel being made, and three breaching batteries traced out : but while the siege was proceeding, Soult, expecting a great battle, put his troops in motion ; strenuously urging Marmont to join him for the relief of the town : but the latter preferred making a diversion against Ciudad Rodrigo, the fortifications of which had been much neglected by the Spanish officers ; and he trusted that he should induce Wellington to hasten to its succor : but the British general knew too well the local obstacles against which Marmont would have to contend : he made preparations, however, to fight Soult without stopping the siege ; yet that marshal did not dare to risk a battle.

Of all officers who have defended a place, in modern times, Phillipon seems to have possessed the greatest skill and readiest resources : every obstacle, which human ingenuity

could devise was thrown in the way of the besiegers: but Wellington's plan was simply to effect a practicable breach, confiding in the well-tried courage of his men to force their way through it into the place: no respite had been given to the garrison; for the fire of the breaching batteries continued through the night; so precious was time for reducing this place during the disjunction of the French armies. The morning of the sixth of April opened with the same heavy cannonade, which had lasted for twelve successive days without cessation: by four o'clock in the afternoon, a third breach was reported practicable; and directions were given for an assault at seven, though the hour of ten was subsequently appointed. This attack was ordered to be made on three points; the castle, the face of the bastion La Trinidad, and the flank of that of Santa Maria: the castle was to be escaladed, and the breaches of the two bastions to be stormed: twenty-seven *memoranda* were comprised in the general order, descending to minute particulars, in order to secure as far as possible, the safety of our troops, and the success of their enterprise: the British general, says colonel Napier, was so sensible of Phillipon's firmness, and the courage of his garrison, that he spared them the affront of a summons; and 18,000 daring soldiers burned for the signal, which was to send them to a conflict, so fiercely fought, so terribly won, and so dreadful in all its circumstances, that posterity can hardly be expected to credit the tale. Badajos was become a point of personal honor with the soldiers of each nation; but the desire for glory was, in the British, dashed with a hatred of the citizens, on account of an old grudge: recent toil and suffering, with much spilling of blood, had rendered many of them incredibly savage; and numbers being heated with the recollection of Ciudad Rodrigo, thirsted for the spoils of conquest: thus every spirit found a cause of excitement, and that excitement was driven to madness by the scene which ensued: unlucky delay in the time of attack gave Phillipon an opportunity to construct such defences, that even the undaunted courage and resolution of our soldiers were of no avail against them; and the place would have defied their efforts, had not an unexpected event paralysed the energy of its defenders. According to arrangements, the assault was to be made simultaneously at all points: Picton and his division were to move from the trenches a short time before the others; but were to appear beneath the walls of the castle at the moment when the fourth and light divisions should attack the breaches of La Trinidad and Santa Maria respectively; the

diversion being made by the fifth, on the opposite side of the town, near San Vincente.

Owing to unforeseen accidents, the movements of the divisions were disturbed; yet all marched silently toward their respective points of destination, in the darkness of night: that darkness, however, was soon dissipated by the light of fire-balls, thrown up from the ramparts: which, burning brilliantly in the air, brought out the advancing legions in full relief: then opened the terrible fire of the garrison; but there was no pause, nor was a shot returned: the illuminated atmosphere showed their path to the assailants; but the storm grew hotter and hotter, as the enemy saw more clearly the approaching masses: at length, the fourth and light division rushed toward the breaches; while the third, led by Kempt, passing the Rivillas over a narrow bridge, in single files, and under an incessant fire of musketry, gained the ground beneath the castle walls: their gallant leader then fell, severely wounded: and Picton, though he had been delayed by a hurt from a fall, hastened to assume the command. 'Never, probably, since the invention of gunpowder,' says colonel Jones, 'were men more exposed to its action than those assembled to assault the breaches:' 'the tumult,' observes colonel Napier, 'was such, as if the very earth had been rent asunder, and its central fires were bursting upwards uncontrolled:' shells, handgrenades, bags of powder, and every species of destructive missile had been prepared, and arranged along the parapet; which, under an unceasing roll of cannon and musketry, were hurled into the ditch, without intermission, for upwards of two hours; and when the assailants, undismayed by this havoc of death, rushed up the breach, they saw glittering across it a range of keen-edged sword-blades, firmly fixed in ponderous beams, chained together, and set deep in the ruins: for ten feet in front, the ascent was covered with loose planks, studded with sharp iron points; which, being pressed by the feet of the foremost, tilted up: and the wretched victims, falling forward on the spikes, rolled down on the ranks behind: then the French, shouting at the success of their stratagem, plied their muskets, of which every man had several; and each musket, in addition to its ordinary charge, contained a small wooden cylinder, stuck full of leaden slugs, which became scattered like hail in the discharge: but again the assailants rushed up, and again were stopped by the dreadful sword-blades; while hundreds fell from shot and shells: so furious did the men now become, that, in one of these charges, the rear endeavoured to precipitate the front

ranks on the murderous weapons, in order to make a bridge of their writhing bodies; but the others frustrated the attempt by dropping down. These scenes took place at the bastion of La Trinidad; while that of Santa Maria equally withstood all assaults: on both, their defenders stood undaunted, and, with deriding shouts, demanded of the assailants, why they did not come on, and capture Badajos?

It was difficult to determine whether soldiers or officers were most conspicuous in this deadly strife: leaders were never for a moment wanting, nor hundreds to follow them; but still it was the same hopeless attempt: though the gate to victory seemed open, the barrier was impassable. By about midnight, when 2000 men had fallen, and the communications made to Wellington held out no expectation of success, he began to meditate a retreat; but at that moment an aide-de-camp came galloping up, where the commander stood surrounded by his staff, to inform him, that Picton had taken the castle by escalade: 'then the place is ours,' was the quick reply; and lieutenant Tyler was sent back with directions for the general to retain it at all hazards. This acquisition had been made against obstacles almost as great as those at the breaches; for the castle walls were of an immense height; and it was with the utmost difficulty the assailants could succeed in raising ladders, most of which broke by the rush of men, and the fire of the enemy; when those who had succeeded in mounting them were precipitated on the bayonets of their comrades below.¹³

While the third division lay close in the castle, either from fear of risking the loss of so important a post, which ensured the capture of the place, or from the great difficulty of egress, (for the French, as if anticipating such an event, had built up the gateways and passages with strong masonry,) the fifth division had commenced its false attack on the Pardeleras; and the Portuguese were sharply engaged at the bridge on the right bank of the Guadiana: then, general Walker's brigade, having passed on during the feint, escalated the distant bastion of San Vincente, amidst a dreadful fire; when a part of his men

¹³ One of the first to make the daring ascent was lieutenant Macpherson, of the forty-fifth, closely followed by sir Edward Pakenham.—See the extraordinary adventure of these two heroes, in the *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 96. The brave colonel Ridge, also, who so distinguished himself at Ciudad Rodrigo, fell in this escalade; 'and no man,' says colonel Napier, 'died that night with more glory; yet many died, and there was much glory.'

entered the town to dislodge the enemy from the houses; and others fought their way along the ramparts toward the breaches: these latter were at length abandoned by their defenders; but a last effort was made to recover Badajos by an attack on the castle; Picton's invincible division, however, beat back the French with frightful slaughter, though an incredible number of their officers and comrades lay dead, or badly wounded, in the ditch below. Phillipon, who, with the survivors of his garrison, had retired into Fort Cristoval, surrendered early next morning to lord Fitzroy Somerset; no time being given him to organise any farther resistance: 'but,' says colonel Napier, 'even in the moment of ruin, the night before, that noble governor had sent out horsemen to carry the news to Soult; and these reached him in time to prevent a still greater misfortune.' Here the pen must stop, nor disclose the scene of wild and desperate wickedness, which tarnished British glory, when the miserable city fell into the hands of its assailants; the horrors of that scene lasted three days, 'till the soldiers were exhausted by their own excesses, and the tumult rather subsided than was quelled.'

Our general has been sometimes blamed for the great risk he ran, and the great sacrifice of life made for the possession of Badajos;¹⁴ but, as colonel Napier justly observes, 'his object was great, his difficulties foreseen, and his success complete.' Immense plans were in contemplation for the subjugation of the peninsula; and this was the only period when they could be successfully counteracted; while Napoleon was unable to take the command: but how could any extensive operations be attempted as long as Badajos remained in the enemy's possession? This place was, in fact, the key to all lord Wellington's movements, when the grand crisis arrived: a regular siege would have been prevented by the French armies; and, even if they had permitted it, the time necessary for its accomplishment would have given every advantage to the enemy. 'Was he,' asks the historian, 'at such a moment, to place the probable loss of a few thousand men in opposition

¹⁴ There is a passage in the duke of Wellington's Dispatches which does such honor to his humanity, that I cannot help quoting it here. 'In all the sieges which I have carried on in this country (says he, in a letter to lord Wm. Bentinck), I have used only the fire of guns, principally from an opinion that the fire of mortars and howitzers has an effect on the *inhabitants* of a town alone; and that a French garrison, in a Spanish or Portuguese town, would be little likely to attend to the wishes or feelings of its inhabitants.'—vol. i. p. 557.

to such a conjuncture of circumstances; and, by declining the chance offered, show that he despaired of success? What, if he had failed? he would not have been, save the loss of a few men, worse off than if he had not attacked: in either case, he would have been a baffled general with a sinking cause: but what, if he succeeded?—the horizon was bright with the coming glory of England.'

The British general was anxious to crown this interesting and important campaign by a trial of strength with the duke of Dalmatia; but the neglect of Spanish engineers, with the tyranny of Carlos d'España, had rendered Almeida insecure; and Marmont was preparing to attack it. Knowing, however, that the danger was not imminent, he still lingered a few days; hoping that Soult, indignant at the loss of Badajos, would risk an encounter with its conqueror: he was certain also that the French marshal had but little time for deliberation, since the operations of the secondary armies had already commenced: Seville, indeed, might have been taken, if there had existed anything like skill and concert among their commanders. These, added to other important considerations, determined Soult to retire into Andalusia; and Wellington despatched sir Stapleton Cotton, with a division of British cavalry, to harass his rear: that gallant officer came up with an equal number of the enemy's horse, near Usagre; when, by a skilful manœuvre, he charged them at the same moment in front and flank; routed them with great loss; and, during a pursuit of four miles, captured several officers with 128 privates.

In the mean time, Marmont was ravaging Beira with dreadful devastation, having been driven from his designs against Almeida, principally by the energy and enterprise of colonel Trant, who commanded a body of Portuguese militia. Alarming reports, however, now reached lord Wellington, respecting the danger of Coimbra and other strong places in that district, which made him hasten to avert it: Marmont's situation, near Sabugal, then became very critical; for he had Almeida and a strong body of militia at Guarda on his right flank; Ciudad Rodrigo lay on his rear; and immediately behind him were the rivers Coa and Agueda, swollen by inundations, which had swept away the nearest bridge at Caridad. Fortune, however, so far favored him, that the Agueda subsided before the British army could come up; and being thus enabled to repair the bridge, he carried his last division over it, on the twenty-fourth of April, into the plains of Leon. Wellington then made great exertions to revictual

Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo; intending to leave Picton on the Agueda, while he himself marched into Andalusia, according to his original plan: but its difficulties were insurmountable; the French had totally exhausted the country; and the Portuguese government not only refused to assist him, but actually permitted Elvas and Badajos to suffer from a deficiency of provisions. In this dilemma, after writing sharply to the regency, declaring 'that on their heads he would throw the responsibility of losing those fortresses if they did not immediately revictual both,' he employed all the carriages in bringing up stores to Almeida and Rodrigo, while he quartered his troops, at the chief points of water-conveyance, on the Douro, the Mondego, and the Tagus: a bold measure; since this line was little less than 400 miles in length, and in the face of three armies; the farthest being only a few marches distant from its outposts: but he knew how difficult it must be for the French to assemble in large masses before the ripening of the harvest. About this period Spanish pride began to abate a little, and the government of Spain allowed a limited number of its subjects to serve in British regiments.¹⁵

After a short period of repose, our commander determined again to take the field, and crossed the Agueda on the tenth of June, with a force of about 45,000 men in four columns: as a prelude, however, to his operations, he had directed general Hill, whom he left on the Guadiana with 10,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry, to attack the strong fortifications and bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus: this, like every other service entrusted to sir Rowland Hill, was brilliantly executed, and all direct communication between Marmont and Soult intercepted. On the sixteenth, Wellington came up with his antagonist in front of Salamanca, which is built on the right bank of the Tormes: the enemy's advanced detachments immediately retired behind that river; and, as the bridge was commanded by three forts, constructed with great skill and strength, it became necessary to take them: a battering train, however, had been already ordered up from Elvas; and the service was entrusted to the sixth division, under general Clinton; while the allied army was posted on the heights of St. Cristoval, three miles in advance of the town, to cut off Marmont's communication with the troops defending those forts. Not discouraged by an abortive attempt to carry one of them by escalade, our soldiers persevered, until a breach was effected in another, and the

¹⁵ Wellington Dispatches, vol. v. p. 656.

third was thrown into flames: in consequence of this, they were quickly reduced; and the hold which Marmont possessed on Salamanca being destroyed, it became evident that he must fight or retreat: he chose the latter alternative, and withdrew toward the Douro, followed by the allies; who, coming up with his rear-guard on the second of July, attacked and compelled it to cross the river in much confusion, and with considerable loss. The rival armies then took up positions on opposite sides of the Douro, where they remained till the sixteenth; and it is observed by an ingenious writer,¹⁶ that much friendly intercourse took place between the soldiers of each; more especially between the third British division and the seventh French; and he adds, that the French officers said, on parting, 'We have met, and been for some time friends; we are about to separate, and may meet as enemies: as friends we have received each other warmly; as enemies we shall do the same:' in ten days afterwards, these divisions were actually opposed to each other at Salamanca; and the seventh French was nearly annihilated by the British third.

Marmont, being now joined by general Bonnet, who brought 10,000 men from the Asturias, found himself at the head of an army amounting to 47,000 veterans: thus reinforced, he determined to resume offensive operations; and, by a series of skilful manœuvres, threw his troops over the Douro, about twenty miles above Toro; he thus succeeded in re-establishing communications with the army of the centre, while he threatened to cut off our fourth and light divisions, as well as Anson's brigade of cavalry; but these troops contrived to rejoin the main body, which had taken a position on the Guarena. Several days were then passed by both armies in movements and counter-movements; sometimes marching in parallel lines, within half cannon-shot of each other: then the allies, falling back and followed by the French, would suddenly halt as if to fight; on which, the enemy, in his turn, would decline the proffered contest; still it was evident that to this they must come at last. On the twentieth of July, the allies again occupied the heights of St. Cristoval, while Marmont was yet manœuvring: each commander waited only for some unfortunate movement, or false step to be made by his antagonist. On the evening of the twenty-first, lord Wellington, passing from the right to the left bank of the Tormes, occupied a position on a bold height, one of the two called Arapiles:

¹⁶ The author of 'Reminiscences of a Subaltern.'

the French had crossed that river in the morning, and taken post on the other height, threatening to cut off our communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and it was to counteract this intention, that the British general moved his army: still Marmont persevered in his object, and his antagonist resolved to prevent it.

The night of the twenty-first was very tempestuous; and as the soldiers were all under arms, the storm, which kept them wet and sleepless, ill-fitted them for the exertions of the ensuing day. Early in the morning, Wellington posted the third division behind Aldea Fejada, on the extreme right of his position, under the gallant Pakenham; and a better substitute could not have been found for its old and illustrious leader, Picton, who lay ill of a dangerous fever in Salamanca: the situation of this well-tried corps is said to have given to it the chief honor of deciding the victory by a rapid movement, illustrating what is termed the oblique order of battle.

The morning was spent in anxious suspense by the allies, who were prepared for a decisive conflict; but their foe gave no indication of his design to commence it till noon, when some confusion was observed in his ranks; though nothing occurred which induced Wellington to make any change in his own position. At length, about two o'clock, an aide-de-camp informed him, that the enemy was extending his left, with an evident intention of turning the British right; on which, taking up a telescope, and attentively watching this movement for a considerable time, he saw that they were delivering themselves into his hands, and instantly gave orders for the third division to advance: these troops had been hitherto concealed from the view of their adversaries; and a strong detachment of cavalry was stationed between them and the main body of our army, in order to prevent them from being taken in flank, as well as to second the grand efforts which were expected from their known valor: the general's concise orders to Pakenham were, 'to move on, take the heights in front, and drive everything before him;' and that officer's answer in the affirmative was still more laconic.

Unfortunately for the enemy, their commander was wavering in his manœuvres, when he ought to have been fixed in position: the French seventh division had been drawn out to the left, for the purpose of alarming Wellington; and when the British third appeared across its path, an aide-de-camp was despatched to general Foy, its commander, to return to his former ground: the French line therefore, was in con-

siderable confusion, as the British rapidly advanced in open column of companies against the heights: these, however, were well defended with artillery, which sent a shower of balls among our troops; and was answered by some guns under captain Douglas in the rear; so that the British were actually between two fires; the shot from their own cannon flying over their heads, while those of the enemy thinned their ranks: these, however, were silently filled up; and the columns moved on, with undaunted resolution, toward the summit of the hill, whose living masses seconded the fire of their artillery with murderous discharges. By a well-judged manœuvre of sir Edward Pakenham, the companies formed into line without halting; and panting with their exertions, gained the summit: then Foy's division, which had hitherto reserved its fire, poured into them a close volley; and the ground was strewed with the leading men of Wallace's brigade. Confident in the paralysing effect of this discharge, the French were prepared to drive their opponents down the hill at the point of the bayonet, when, through the dissipating smoke, they perceived the faces of those veteran troops rapidly, but steadily advancing: for a moment, there was an almost death-like silence: this, however, was soon broken by the quick, but ill-directed fire of the French, answered by one of those terrible cheers which precede the irresistible charge of British troops. Pakenham, remembering his instructions, 'to drive everything before him,' had given the word; the step was accelerated; and as the distance diminished, a well-directed volley was poured into the opposing column; to which the dreadful rush of bayonets immediately succeeded. 'The close phalanx,' it is said, 'for an instant bent from the shock: then, for several minutes, the living mass swayed backward and forward; but at length it yielded:—another effort, and it was broken: they fled; and the seventh French were destroyed by the British third.'¹⁷

In the mean time, the allies were contending in the centre with equal fury, though not with such distinguished success: even on the right, as the cavalry had not advanced, Pakenham could not take complete advantage of his movement; which being observed by Foy, he brought up a fresh brigade, and was beginning to restore the combat; when the tramp of LeMarchant's heavy horse, flanked by Anson's light cavalry, was heard behind the British infantry: these instantly opened their

¹⁷ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 152.

ranks : through which the fierce squadrons rushed on their disconcerted foe : the French however quickly formed squares, and their volleys brought down many a gallant horseman ; among whom was the brave Le Marchant himself, whose horse, being at full speed, carried his lifeless body against the bayonets of his opponents. The contest, however, could not last long, though the broken squares bravely resisted : the troopers with their long swords cut down the exhausted soldiers with unsparing fury, until the latter fled even to the British line for protection : it was given as freely as it was demanded : 'not a man,' it is said, 'was bayoneted : not one was even molested or plundered ; and the invincible old third on this day surpassed themselves ; for they not only defeated their terrible enemies in a fair fight, but actually covered their retreat, and protected them at a moment, when, without such aid, their total annihilation was certain.'¹⁸

Victory now appeared more sure ; for the flying French were spreading confusion in their own line, and the British under Pakenham, were seen advancing against their right flank : the fourth division, under general Leith, which was stationed to the left of Pakenham, seeing the success of the latter, now advanced ; and though their distinguished leader fell severely wounded, the men pressed on, driving their adversaries from the field, and forcing them up the hill at their rear. In the centre the result was more doubtful, where Cole's division made a gallant attack on Bonnet's corps, and threw it into confusion : the security of his advance however depended on the success of Leith's division, as well as of Pack's Portuguese, who were to have carried the enemy's height, of the Dos Arapiles, on the left of our fourth : but the Portuguese having failed, the artillery on that position was turned against Leith's flank and rear with terrible effect : then the French centre, whose commander, Bonnet, had been carried off the field wounded, was rallied by general Clausel, a man of distinguished military talent, who saw at a glance the turn which affairs had taken. Bringing up a reserve, and the remains of two broken columns, this brave officer became the assailant : our fourth division gave way ; Cole himself fell wounded ; and his troops were on the retreat : marshal Beresford bravely attempted to stop them with a brigade of Leith's division ; but these, being principally Portuguese, could not effect his purpose : the marshal himself was disabled by a

¹⁸ Author quoted in the *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 155.

severe wound, and the whole mass was borne back in confusion by the opposing line. Lord Wellington however had been apprised of the danger, and galloped to the spot; when the hand of the master restored order, and turned the tide of battle: the sixth division, under general Clinton, which had not yet fired a shot, was ordered up; and as the enemy saw through the twilight this unbroken corps marching in array against them, they paused and commenced a heavy fire; the contest however was now to be decided by the bayonet, that weapon, in the use of which the British infantry is confessedly pre-eminent. While the first and light divisions therefore were ordered against the cavalry and artillery on the flanks, Clinton's men advanced up the steep and rocky height in line, under a murderous fire of musketry and artillery; but without returning a shot: soon the fearful charge commenced; the enemy, attacked at the same time in front and flank, gave way in all directions; and their destruction would have been complete, if the shades of night had not opportunely covered their retreat: Wellington himself, with the first and light divisions, and a body of cavalry, followed them till darkness rendered pursuit impracticable: indeed, sir Stapleton Cotton was wounded by a British sentinel, who mistook him for an enemy. This memorable battle was fought within sight of the famed city of Salamanca; and the ground, with its heights rising gradually one behind another, formed a magnificent theatre for such a spectacle. On the part of the allies, 5000 were killed or wounded; among the most regretted of whom was general Le Marchant, a very distinguished officer, who introduced the Hungarian sword exercise into our service, and had been the principal planner of the royal military college. The French lost three generals slain, and three wounded, Marmont, Bonnet, and Clausel, each of whom had successively taken the command-in-chief: their total loss was very great;¹⁹ and, beside dead and wounded, they left 7000 prisoners, eleven guns, and two eagles, in the hands of the conquerors: 5000 of these captives, it is said, with nine of the guns, and both eagles, were taken by the third division; 'so that 'Sala-

¹⁹ The whole French army might have been taken but for the bad conduct of Don Carlos de España.—See Wellington's Dispatches, vol. v. p. 758. Even at this period lord Wellington was cruelly used by his own, as well as the peninsular governments. He had neither horses sent to mount his cavalry, nor guns of sufficient calibre to match the French artillery. 'It is very hard,' he says, 'to be cannonaded for hours together and not be able to answer even with one gun.'

manca' was justly added to the many glorious names already inscribed on the colors of its regiments.²⁰

The pursuit of the discomfited foe was renewed next day beyond the Tormes, and the British troops came up with their rear-guard of horse and foot; when the former fled and left three brigades to their fate: general Bock with a heavy brigade of the German legion, attacked them though formed in squares; and, in one of the finest charges ever seen, rode completely through their ranks, though with a loss of more than 100 killed and wounded; but great numbers of the enemy were made prisoners: in the course of the day, the French were joined by a corps of 1200 cavalry from the army of the north, which covered the retreat of their centre, as it hastened toward Valladolid: their stragglers however met with little mercy of the hands of the peasantry, armed with those long knives which form a part of the Spanish costume: the pursuit was continued on the twenty-fourth; but the fugitives made long marches, and had little to encumber them; though a patrol captured two officers and twenty-seven men of Joseph's royal guard between Arevalo and Avila. So far the king himself had advanced, with the army of the centre to join Marmont on the Tormes; but being there met with tidings of defeat, he turned off toward Segovia; though he afterwards endeavored to divert the pursuers, by threatening an advance on their flank. The defeated army, in the mean time, whose movements were very skilfully conducted by Clausel, concentrated itself on the left bank of the Douro, near the bridge at Tudela de Duero; but was obliged to cross that river as the allies advanced, and hasten to Valladolid; which city it was obliged to evacuate, leaving behind seventeen pieces of artillery, many stores, and 800 of its sick and wounded men; when it continued the retreat toward Burgos: lord Wellington here discontinued his pursuit, and turned toward the intrusive monarch; determined by one bold effort to compel him to fight with inferior forces, or to evacuate Madrid. Leaving therefore a strong detachment under general Paget to observe the line of the Douro, he advanced through Segovia and St. Ildefonso against the king, who allowed him to pass unmolested through the mountains, venturing to hope that his subjects would assist him against the English; but the demonstrations of enmity to his government, and of satisfaction at the approach of the allies, were too evident to be mis-

²⁰ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 160.

understood : Joseph and his partisans therefore evacuated the capital ; and on the morning of the twelfth of August, the British liberators were received by its citizens with every token of enthusiastic joy : the Retiro, having made a short and feeble resistance, surrendered at discretion, with its garrison of about 2000 men, 189 cannon, 20,000 stand of arms, and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores.

These brilliant successes, however, were far from completing the recovery of Spain. So ineffective was the aid afforded by the natives, so great was that military power which yet remained to be subdued, and so difficult to be broken were the combinations of Napoleon's genius, that a triumphant result seemed rather to be wished than expected : in eastern Spain, the troops sent from Sicily and Majorca, under general Maitland, were of a motley description, without cavalry ; and so much below the stipulated number, that they were totally unable to check the progress of Suchet.

Southward, indeed, some consequences of the late battle were strongly felt, in the evacuation of Seville by the French, and their abandonment of works connected with the blockade of Cadiz ; for Soult perceived that nothing less than a concentration of the French armies would compel the allies to fall back on Portugal : but the Cortes now free to act, and alive to the necessity of greater exertions, committed the control of all their armies and generals to Wellington as captain-general. In the north also, some gallant exploits displayed the adventurous spirits of the guerilla chiefs ; who had been nobly assisted in their enterprises by a squadron under sir Home Popham, accompanied by sir Howard Douglas and general Carrol : but the retreat of Wellington from Madrid, when three hostile armies of the south, the centre, and the north were closing round him, and more especially his failure at Burgos, where he was obliged to undertake a siege without the requisite means of success, obscured for a time the prospects of the allies. Burgos being the only dépôt remaining to the French army of Portugal, general Souham, who had succeeded to Clausel's command, threw a strong garrison into its castle, after avoiding a contest with the allied army by retiring on Briviesca. The British general, though he was without heavy artillery, commenced operations by sapping, mining, and assaults, as if he hoped to gain possession of the fortress by the magic of his name : for thirty-five days this siege was carried on without interruption, but danger then appeared in the horizon ; for the army under Souham, being

re-organised, was approaching for its relief. The miserable Ballasteros, instead of obeying orders, and harassing Soult's retreat into Valencia, had done nothing beside making an appeal to the Spanish army and nation against the Cortes, for investing lord Wellington with the chief command; so that the duke of Dalmatia, joined by Souchet and the king, were advancing against sir Rowland Hill with an overwhelming force. This intelligence induced his lordship to raise the siege of Burgos, recall his troops from Madrid, and direct Hill to proceed northward and join him: accordingly having relinquished the enterprise, he moved towards Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself.

The cavalry of his rear-guard, being furiously attacked in this retreat by the army of the north, fell into confusion, from which it was seasonably relieved by the German light infantry. To obstruct pursuit, the bridges over different rivers were blown up, as soon as the allies had passed; but that temporary check did not prevent occasional conflicts, which were attended with some loss: at length, the harassed troops reached the position of St. Cristoval, near Salamanca, where they halted; and the Tormes then divided the united French armies, exceeding in number 90,000 men, from 53,000 of the confederates. The disposition of the natives toward their British allies at this place—and it was not very different in others—may be learned from the narrative of the peninsular historian. 'The Spaniards,' he observes, 'civil and military, began to evince hatred of the British. Daily did they attempt or perpetrate murder; and one act of peculiar atrocity merits notice: a horse, led by an English soldier, being frightened, backed against a Spanish officer commanding at a gate, when he caused the soldier to be dragged into his guard-house and there bayoneted in cold blood; nor could any redress be had for this or other crimes, save by counter-violence, which was not long withheld. A Spanish officer, while wantonly stabbing at a rifleman, was shot dead by the latter; and a British volunteer slew a Spanish officer at the head of his own regiment in a sword fight, the troops of both nations looking on. The civil authorities, not less savage, were more insolent than the military, treating every English person with intolerable arrogance. Even the Prince of Orange was like to have lost his life; for on remonstrating about quarters with the sitting junta, they ordered one of their guards to kill him; and he would have been killed, had not Mr. Steele of the forty-third, a bold athletic person, felled the man before he

could stab: yet both the prince and his defender were obliged to fly instantly, to avoid the soldier's comrades. The exasperation caused by these things was leading to serious mischief, when the enemy's movements gave another direction to the soldiers' passions.'

An unsuccessful attempt was now made by the French to cross the river at Alba; but they effected the passage at an undefended ford to the southward. Wellington, finding his communication with Portugal thus endangered, prudently but leisurely continued his retreat to the frontiers of that kingdom; where, supported by the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he secured his army in winter-quarters: the campaign might have had a very different result but for the vile jealousy of Ballasteros, who was arrested by order of the Cortes, and banished to Ceuta. The retreat of the allies, like such movements in general, when pressed by a superior force, had been so marked by disorder, rapine, and every species of atrocity, that their commander indignantly complained in public orders of a 'want of discipline, greater than that of any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read;' these reproaches, however, were generally resented as an ebullition of mortified pride, under the consciousness of an error committed: his lordship had wasted thirty-five days before Burgos, which was not important enough to have detained him five; and he felt his failure before such a fortress as a grievous disappointment: but how few generals could afford to make an error like him! King Joseph now returned once more to Madrid; while Soult, who took the chief command of the combined French armies, established his headquarters at Toledo, with his right wing resting on Salamanca.

In England, a popular outcry was raised against lord Wellington on account of this retreat; and even his great acts were forgotten by many in the condemnation of a single failure: fortunately, however, ministers were not influenced by such sentiments; but being satisfied with the explanation of his motives, and pleased with the mark of confidence which the Spanish government, casting aside that jealous pride which ill agreed with its circumstances, had reposed in this great commander,—they resolved to send him all possible assistance. Thus encouraged and supported, his lordship employed the winter months in rendering his army so effective, that in the ensuing campaign he might enter on a more decisive and extended course of operations: for this purpose he proceeded to Cadiz, to make arrangements for the co-operation of the

Spanish armies; when it was settled that 50,000 troops should be placed at his disposal. He was received with distinguished honors by the Cortes, who augured, that under the direction of so great a leader, those troops would pitch their victorious tents on the banks of the Seine: 'it would not be the first time,' said their president, 'that the Spanish lions had there trampled on the old fleur-de-lys of France.' From Cadiz Wellington repaired to Lisbon, passing under triumphal arches in every town from Elvas to the Tagus, and receiving from the people of the capital the honors which he so well deserved.

Parliament was dissolved this year, to get rid, as was generally supposed, of its pledge to the Roman catholics; and it certainly was desirable, during the times of which we are now treating, to evade that perplexing question; as the nation appeared to think, from the change made in many of its representatives. In a letter, however, from lord Liverpool to the chancellor, the following reasons are given for the determination of ministers. 'Considering,' says he, 'the success of our military operations, the abundant harvest in every part of the United Kingdom, the increasing tranquillity of our disturbed districts, and the profound quiet in every part of Ireland, we should hardly be justified in not availing ourselves of all these favorable circumstances, or in adjourning the dissolution to some future period, when, from causes unavoidable, such a measure might be not only inconvenient, but even hazardous.'¹ This general election was also destined to commence a new era in the political life of one who was rising fast to the head of affairs. On the twenty-fifth of September, a public meeting was held in Liverpool for the purpose of inviting Mr. Canning to represent that flourishing town in parliament: five candidates were put in nomination, but his opponents were Messrs. Brougham and Creevey: the contest was severe, but the exertions made on his behalf were unprecedented; and he was maintained, from first to last, at the head of the poll. On this occasion various opportunities occurred of eliciting an expression of his sentiments on important political questions: with respect to parliamentary reform, he declared, that his mind was made up not to support it; because he was persuaded, that it could not be stirred without stirring other questions, which would shake our constitution to its very foundation; because the house of

¹ Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 226.

commons, as then constituted, was adequate to all the functions which it was wisely and legitimately ordained to execute; and because showy theories and fanciful schemes of arithmetical or geographical proportion would fail to produce any amelioration of the present house. 'I deny,' said he, 'the grievance; I distrust the remedy: when it is asserted to me again, as I have often heard it, that, under our present corrupt system, there is no true popular delegation, no uninfluenced or disinterested choice of representatives, my mind will recur at once to the scene that is now before me, and repose with perfect contentment on the practical contradiction which Liverpool affords to assertions so disparaging to the people.' All this was very pretty oratory; but if Mr. Canning had stood for Appleby or Cambridge against the interests of the powerful noblemen who commanded those boroughs, he would have found that it was not the charm of his eloquence that could have moved the flinty hearts of electors: and how many towns, and even counties, at that time were in the situation of those mentioned! With regard to the catholic claims, he fully developed his views in favor of their concession; referring to the conscientious scruples of the king, as having deterred him so many years from expressing his sentiments on the subject. In meeting various imputations which had been cast on him during the election, he thus expressed himself respecting his acceptance of office:—'If I have held office, I hope I have held it honorably; and I will never hold it again but on the same terms. I am not to be blamed, if I must state facts in my own defence, which might otherwise appear ostentatious: it is intirely my own fault, gentlemen, that I am not now addressing you with the seals of a secretary of state in my pocket: twice, in the last six months, have they been tendered to my acceptance; and twice have I declined them.' That he was at this time willing, if not anxious, to accept office, was apparent from the reconciliation just made between himself and lord Castlereagh; and, if he was considered important to the administration, when a member of parliament without constituents, deriving his political existence from the corruptions or abuses of the constitution, it was equally evident, that such importance would increase from his place in the senate; representing, as he now did, one of the most extensive, free, and wealthy towns in the empire.

The new parliament assembled on the twenty-fourth of November, when the commons unanimously re-elected Mr. Abbot for their speaker; and on the thirtieth, the regent

delivered from the throne a speech which embraced a variety of topics, the most prominent of which was the war in the peninsula, that in the north of Europe, and the contest in America. On the motion for an address, lord Wellesley took a review of the past Spanish campaign; arguing, that the system pursued by ministers was timid without prudence, and narrow without economy; profuse without the fruits of expenditure, and slow without the benefits of caution: he complained that his brother had not been adequately supported by ministers; but lord Liverpool declared, that every requisition made by lord Wellington had been complied with. Lord Grenville persisted in his old opinion, that deliverance of Spain was beyond the utmost means of this country to effect: 'it was cruel,' he said, 'to embark that nation in so hopeless a cause, for the sake of a little temporary advantage: ministers had not advanced one step in the accomplishment of their object; and this third progress into the interior of Spain proved, by its failure, the correctness of those data on which his opinion was founded: how vain was their boast of having delivered Andalusia, which the French could re-occupy whenever they pleased! the blame of this did not lie with the Spaniards, but with those who encouraged hopes which they had no right to entertain; the fault was with our ministers, who, in their ignorance, overrated the condition of Spain, and anticipated from her more than she could possibly perform.' With greater reason, he asked,—'why ministers, with a revenue of £105,000,000, or more, extorted by the most grinding and oppressive means from a suffering people, were yet unable to supply lord Wellington's military chest? The difficulty arose from their incapacity, not from the deficient resources of the country: they might diminish by one-half the income of every individual in it, with as little effect, or promise of ultimate success, as had attended those plans which led them to circulate a vile adulterated paper currency throughout the nation: when such had been its effects, why not at this moment stop the contest in Spain?'

In the house of commons, Mr. Ponsonby declared, in similar terms, that it was useless to waste our blood and treasure for an unattainable object: 'it had been proved,' he said, 'that the power of Great Britain could not drive the French out of the peninsula.' Mr. Freemantle thought, that by the battle of Salamanca we had gained nothing but glory; and that the deliverance of Spain was no nearer than when lord Wellington was within his lines of Torres Vedras. Mr. Whitbread did

not carry his forebodings to so great a length: he admitted that our situation in the peninsula was glorious beyond example, as regarded the achievements of our armies; though with respect to the expulsion of the French, he did not think this result was so near as some people expected: he was far from wishing to refuse the means necessary to bring the war to a successful issue; but feeling for the burdens of the people, and threatened with the financial abilities of our present chancellor of the exchequer, he thought the last resources of this country ought not to be granted without some security for their proper application: under such circumstances, his advice was to address the regent on the possibility of effecting a general pacification, by taking advantage of that perilous situation in which Bonaparte now found himself; and which must necessarily dispose him to peace. Mr. Whitbread, however, did not divide the house on his pacific amendment; and the address, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech, passed unanimously. A similar one was carried in the upper house, where lord Grenville inveighed strongly against the war with America; which it was now difficult to terminate, though it might have been avoided by a timely revocation of our orders in council.

Probably no set of men have been ever subjected to more ridicule and contempt, on account of their forebodings of discomfiture and disgrace, than the opposition members of that day; certainly, no predictions were ever less verified by events: thus much, however, may be said in extenuation of what may now appear like mental hallucination; that it was not so easy for men at home to penetrate the deep and comprehensive plans of our great general; while the immense force opposed to him, the strange infatuation of the peninsular governments, and the defective arrangements hitherto made by our own, were evident to all men. Brighter days, however, were now approaching: our regent was animated with a hearty and truly British determination to strike home at the great despoiler of nations; the premier was prepared to enter into his views, and parliament to second them; all felt confidence in the valor of our troops, and the skill of their commander.

One of the earliest subjects that engaged the attention of the commons was the bullion question. Before the appointment of the committee, gold had risen from £3. 17s. 10*l*. to £4. 10s. the ounce, and since that appointment, to £5. 5s.; that is, bank paper was depreciated thirty-five per cent.: the

house, however, thought proper to repeat Mr. Vansittart's resolution of last year, that guineas and bank-notes were considered equivalent to each other in public estimation: this probably was the effect, neither of ignorance, nor of any fraudulent intention; the safety of the kingdom depended on the continuance of war; and without such a resolution embodied into a law, how could the contest have been carried on?

Private subscriptions to a large amount had been raised for the suffering inhabitants of Russia; and on the seventeenth of December a message was sent to parliament by the regent, recommending additional relief; when a sum of £200,000 was cheerfully granted for so benevolent a purpose: this generosity was acknowledged with gratitude by the emperor Alexander, who declared his joy at the renewal of friendship with a nation which had so steadily persevered in the deliverance of Europe. A grant of £100,000 was also voted to the great captain who was working so gloriously for this cause in the peninsula: parliament then adjourned, over the Christmas holidays, to the second of February: but before we proceed to its acts at that important period, a few domestic events demand our brief attention.

During the whole course of the war, a want of secure and extensive anchorage near the entrance of the channel had been severely felt; and no place appeared so convenient for this purpose as Plymouth-sound; but, unfortunately, that road, being wholly open, and exposed to south-west gales, afforded in its natural state no protection during the very storms which obliged our fleets to seek a refuge there. Lord Grey, when at the head of the naval department, first contemplated the possibility of converting this into a safe harbor, by the construction of a break-water;² but to Mr. Yorke belongs the merit of having adopted the plan, being confirmed in his opinion of its practicability by that celebrated engineer, Mr. Rennie. The first stone of this stupendous work, which is 5100 feet long by 250 broad at the foundation, far exceeding any wonders of the ancient world, was sunk on the twelfth of August: as a similar structure, attempted by the French government at Cherburg, had failed, owing to the small size of the stones, as well as the ill-judged form of the mound, the blocks used in this varied from one to ten

² The honor however of originating this undertaking is claimed by captain Brenton for the great earl St. Vincent.—See his Life, vol. ii. p. 260.

tons in weight ; and a very considerable slope was given to it on the side presented to the ocean.

The cultivation of the fine arts was this year greatly promoted by the purchase of Mr. Townley's noble collection of ancient statues, which were deposited in the British Museum ; while a splendid prospect was opened for the metropolis by the commissioners of his majesty's land revenue ; notice being given of their intention to request from parliament an act for making those vast improvements around Charing-cross, and in the line from Carlton-house to the Regent's-park, which have rendered the capital worthy of our nation. Among the more remarkable trials which took place, was that of Daniel Dawson, at the summer assizes in Cambridge ; for poisoning some race-horses at Newmarket, by mixing arsenic in the troughs at which the animals were watered : he was convicted chiefly on the evidence of an accomplice, and suffered the penalty of death for his crime : on the sixteenth of December, a proof was given that no subject in this realm is too high for the law to reach, when the marquis of Sligo was brought to trial at the Old Bailey : the charge against him, was that of seducing seamen from the king's ships in the Mediterranean to navigate his yacht ; and this being proved, he was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, and to be imprisoned in Newgate four months.

The commons met again on the second of February, and the lords on the following day ; but no business of public interest was taken up in either house till the eleventh, when lord Castlereagh moved the second reading of a bill, which had been previously introduced, for the appointment of a vice-chancellor of England, with full power to determine all cases of law and equity in the court of chancery ; his decrees to be of equal validity with those of the lord chancellor, but subject to the revision of the latter ; and not to be enrolled until they received his signature. This bill was strenuously opposed by Mr. Canning and sir Samuel Romilly : the former wished to preserve the office of lord chancellor in all the plenitude of its power and splendor of its authority : he was not imputing any negligence to lord Eldon, when he said, that if the bill should pass, a time might come, when all the business of the court would be thrown on this new officer and the master of the rolls. Sir Samuel contended, that it would effect a complete change in the character of future lord chancellors ; and that the country would never again see such men as Somers, Camden, and Hardwicke. The solicitor-

general, with far better judgment, insisted on the necessity of providing justice for the subjects of the realm, now exposed to all the dreadful inconveniences of delay occurring in the chancellor's court; and the second reading was carried by a large majority: in the committee, it was vehemently opposed by Mr. Leach, who afterwards distinguished himself in this very office; but the bill finally passed into a law, and sir Thomas Plumer was appointed to preside over the new court, with a salary of £5000 per annum; to be paid out of the dead fund: this consisted of money originally deposited by private suitors; who, as well as all their representatives, had died before their suits terminated; and the ease with which this fund supplied such a sum, incontestably proved the necessity of some reform.

On the eighteenth, the American war afforded a subject of discussion: in the commons, Mr. Canning declared, that the provocations to it in the orders of council never met with his approbation; but, as he considered conciliation and concession from our government more likely to increase American insolence than lead to any pacific results, he strongly recommended more vigorous measures, and condemned the supineness of ministers: after an elaborate speech, in which a comprehensive view was taken of the powers of the New World, he concluded by observing, with reference to those who then had the control of our navy, 'that they held the pen when they should launch the thunder.' In the upper house, lord Lansdowne expressed disapprobation, because, owing to the disposition of our naval force, triumphs had been afforded to the Americans; and the marquis Wellesley, though he agreed in the justice of the war, blamed the manner in which it had been conducted; hoping that an opportunity for inquiry would soon arrive. Ministers were defended by lords Bathurst and Melville; the latter of whom declared,—as heads of departments were so accustomed to declare, when parliamentary censure fell on their measures,—that all our admiralty arrangements were the best possible, and defied investigation. With regard to the claim set up by the United States—that any subject of any state, possessing letters of naturalisation, or a certificate of citizenship from the American authorities, should be exempt from reclamation by his own native country—their fallacy was exposed by lords Bathurst and Eldon; such claim being, in fact, a demand of power to cancel all ties of allegiance: yet on this principle the Americans had required, as a preliminary to any negotiation,

that England should suspend her right of impressing British seamen found on board American vessels. In each house, an address was voted without a division, stating that the pretensions of the American government could not be admitted without a surrender of some of the most ancient, undoubted, and important rights of the British empire; promising also cordial and zealous support in the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

The approach of the princess Charlotte to the full age of sovereignty induced sir Francis Burdett to move for leave to bring in a bill, providing for any interruption in the exercise of royal authority: and he stated in his speech, that in case of the death or disability of the regent, his object was, that the powers, now exercised by his royal highness, should devolve without restriction on the next heir to the throne: this motion was supported by the opposition, but rejected by a majority of 238 to 73, on the ground of so remote a contingency, and the propriety of leaving the discretion of parliament unfettered: ministers however were supposed to have consulted, not so much the feelings of parliament, as of the prince, who had a strong aversion to any question or arrangement made in contemplation of his death. Other discussions however arose, in which the princess was concerned, exciting a more lively and general sensation in the public mind: the severe restrictions, by which she was interdicted from frequent intercourse with her mother, induced the latter to address a letter to her husband, setting forth in strong terms the hardship and injustice of such a separation: this letter was returned unopened by lord Liverpool, at the command of the regent; in the mean time, preparations had been made for presenting the young princess at court; and both she and her mother were dressed for the drawing-room, when an intimation was sent to the latter, that she would not be allowed to present her daughter; that office having been delegated to the duchess of York: accordingly, no presentation took place. Again, about the middle of February, the princess of Wales, having sent a remonstrance to lord Liverpool, on account of an appointed visit from her daughter having been prohibited, was informed that such prohibition had been ordered in consequence of a recent publication of the princess's letter to the regent in the newspapers: in that document, the expression, 'suborned traducers,' was pointedly introduced; and this had given such offence to the prince, that he referred the matter to his privy council, who advised that all intercourse

between the princess of Wales and the princess Charlotte should be subjected to regulation and restraint.

In this stage of the business, her royal highness addressed a letter to the speaker, with a request that it should be communicated to the house of commons; throwing herself on the wisdom of parliament, and desiring to be treated as innocent, or proved guilty: a considerable pause ensued after the reading of this document; and no one seemed inclined to take up the subject, till Mr. Whitbread rose, and declared his opinion that such a communication was intitled to the most respectful attention. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who had already given notice for a motion respecting the princess of Wales, was now called on by the speaker; but, on his rising, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, and Mr. Johnstone refused to proceed: next day however he concluded a long speech, by moving an address to the regent for copies of all papers connected with the investigation: but lord Castlereagh, alleging that the only ground for inquiry would be the existence of doubts with regard to the succession, exhorted the house to dismiss the subject altogether, as such doubts were entertained by no reasonable or unprejudiced person. Mr. Stuart Wortley did not wish for investigation, because he conceived that the report of 1807 contained a complete acquittal of the princess; and he did not scruple to throw out some severe censures against the prince; declaring, that if he had a sister in the situation of the princess, he would say that she was exceedingly ill treated.

As lord Castlereagh had intimated in his speech, that the opposition were secret movers of these proceedings, Mr. Ponsonby indignantly repelled such insinuations, declaring that he should despise those who made family quarrels a stepping-stone to office: he had never done so; but he could not say as much for the living and the dead: this allusion to intrigues by the Perceval ministry met with no reply, and the motion was rejected: Mr. Whitbread however would not suffer the question to be so soon consigned to oblivion; he presented a petition from sir John and lady Douglas, requesting permission to produce before a regular tribunal the evidence which they had formerly given before the commissioners of inquiry, whose authority was not sufficient to justify, in case of falsehood, a prosecution for perjury: he wished that these parties might be brought to justice for their calumnious assertions; but as he found that this point could not be gained in the strictness of law, he hoped that some other method would be adopted to

satisfy the public: he then took notice of some 'disgusting and atrocious documents,' which had appeared in two morning papers, known to be under the control of government, and patronised at Carlton-house: and concluded by moving that an address be presented to the regent, complaining of the appearance of those offensive reports, and desiring the punishment of all persons concerned in giving publicity to such indecorous and degrading sentiments. Lord Castlereagh, after a vehement attack on Mr. Whitbread for illiberal and unfair reflections on the prince, earnestly deprecated any agitation of this question; and it was not to be supposed that his suggestion would be neglected, since the house cordially desired to avoid all investigation of the subject: the public generally saw in these proceedings of the prince, a design to degrade his consort; accordingly, they shut their eyes to all the circumstances of her self-degradation, and rallied round her as a persecuted and unprotected woman; addresses, expressed in very strong language, were agreed to in London, Westminster, and Middlesex, in consequence of which, the restrictions on her intercourse with her daughter were considerably relaxed.

One of the most important subjects that came before parliament this session related to the East India company, who applied for a renewal of their charter, as the period of its expiration approached: numerous petitions however were received from the outports of the united kingdom, praying for an opening of the trade: and ministers did not consider it advisable to grant a monopoly to the desired extent: it appeared that the company had not sufficient capital to carry on their commerce with full effect; and some branches, which might be profitably cultivated, were in consequence neglected. It was the opinion of administration, that this deficiency could be advantageously supplied, by conceding a share of the traffic to British merchants generally, under certain conditions: the principal of these were, that all ships engaging in the private trade should be of 350 tons burden or upwards; and those for the settlements of Fort William, Fort George, Bombay, or Prince of Wales's Island, should be provided with a license, which the court of directors were bound to grant; a special license being required to other places, which that court might grant or refuse, subject to an appeal to the board of control: but lord Castlereagh, by whom these concessions were proposed, stated that he and his colleagues had no intention of interfering with the company's territorial claims; which part of the system might safely remain under its present management: in con-

sideration also of difficulties to which the trade of individuals might be subjected by the capricious selfishness of the Chinese government, commerce with that empire would still be confined to its original channel. Animated debates arose in the progress of this ministerial scheme; which although the company made strenuous efforts to retain their monopoly, appeared just and reasonable to a majority of both houses: it was not however merely a commercial scheme; but it partook of a political and religious character, inasmuch as it provided for the better government of provinces, and more economical management of funds; regulated the administration of justice: and, in addition to the appointment of a bishop with three archdeacons, encouraged the propagation of Christianity among the natives by licensed missionaries: thus a bill was enacted for prolonging the company's territorial power to April, 1834.

During the agitation of this important question, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward several schemes of finance; one of which was calculated to facilitate the redemption of land-tax: a second proposed that on all future loans there should be an additional one per cent. to the sinking fund for their extinction; also that on exchequer bills, and other floating unfunded property, a sinking fund of one per cent. should be established: his third proposition was to repeal part of the act of 1802, which provided that the sinking fund then existing should be suffered to accumulate at compound interest, without any interruption or encroachment, until the funded debt to which it belonged was wholly liquidated: it had already, as Mr. Vansittart stated, redeemed as much as formed the amount of the whole debt when Mr. Pitt's plan was adopted; therefore he thought it expedient that the rigor of appropriation should be relaxed, for the relief and convenience of the public. Till the debt, which then remained, was completely redeemed, he said it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund an annual sum of £870,000, which would have been appropriated to the redemption of different sums provided for in 1802, if Mr. Pitt's plan of consolidation had taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent.: though this scheme interfered with the inalienable character of the sinking fund, it was thought more advisable that the community should derive occasional benefit from the increasing mass, than to wait for the full effect of indefinitely promised redemption; and the change proposed was adopted by both houses.

During the debates on army estimates, Mr. Whitbread took

occasion to make some pertinent remarks on the absurd alterations of dress among our soldiers: regretting to see such mumery imposed on them, at which every Englishman laughed as they passed along the streets: he could wish also that the national uniform had not been departed from: scarlet was the established English color, and the soldier was proud of it; why then had we adopted the varieties used on the continent, in consequence of which many fatal accidents had happened to our men, mistaking each other for enemies? To have interfered however with the arrangements of military dress, would have been to cut off the principal source of enjoyment which his high station had conferred on the regent. Addicted to this passion in his early youth, and encouraged in it by courtly parasites, he clung to it latterly with a fond and faithful attachment; so that not only were the convivial meetings at Carlton-house, that paradise of tailors, enlivened by learned disquisitions on costume; but a very large portion of each morning was dedicated to practical illustrations of the noble art of cutting out cloth.

The catholic question was brought forward and discussed with a few circumstances of novelty: on the twenty-fifth of February, Mr. Grattan moved for a committee of the whole house on this subject, and each party anticipated a triumphant result for itself; the veteran mover of the resolution spoke with a union of eloquence and argument, which was only equalled by the splendid efforts of Mr. Plunkett in the same cause: and after the debate had been continued through four adjournments, this motion was carried at five in the morning of the fifth day by a majority of 264 votes against 224. On the ninth of March, the house went into committee; when Mr. Grattan moved two preliminary resolutions, which were opposed by the speaker, who having left the chair, and taken his seat on the treasury bench, assumed his privilege as a representative of the commons: he declared himself not adverse to concession, but was hardly willing to go farther than the allowing free exercise of religious worship to Roman catholic soldiers in England, as well as in Ireland: after a long debate, however, the resolutions were carried by a considerable majority; and on the thirtieth of April, Grattan brought forward a bill, which was ordered to be read a second time on the eleventh of May; but at that period, when the second reading was about to take place, sir John Cox Hippley, a veteran in the cause of emancipation, conceiving himself slighted by the framers of this measure, moved a previous inquiry, so vast and various in

its details, that to have gone through it satisfactorily must have put off the subject to a future age: his proposition was received with flattering testimonies of applause by the opponents of the bill; but, after calling forth an unrivalled effusion of wit and sarcastic humor from Mr. Canning, was rejected: the second reading, however, could not take place that night; and three days were gained for the exertion of influence and authority. On the eleventh of May, the bill was read a second time, and committed on the fourteenth; when considerable alterations were made, with a view to satisfy the doubts and fears of protestants: on the twenty-fourth, it was brought again before a committee of the whole house, in which the opposing party determined to make a final stand: the speaker was again the first to rise; and as all yielded to his claim of precedence, he took this occasion of delivering a very elaborate speech, which he concluded by moving that a clause which opened the two houses of parliament to Roman catholics be omitted: after a long debate, his motion was carried by a majority of four, and the bill was abandoned by its supporters as unworthy of acceptance. This rejection of their claims was received by the Irish catholics with sentiments of extreme indignation; and an absurd proposition of appealing to the Spanish Cortes, for their mediation with our government, was referred to a committee. Little less of wisdom or moderation was shown by those English protestants, who displayed their triumph over the disappointed party, by the establishment or renewal of Orange lodges: the object however of these associations, as well as the spirit and temper which they manifested, was so severely reprobated in parliament, even by ministers themselves, and excited so much disgust among the more sober-minded portion of the protestant community, that they were soon broken up: yet it was lamentable to find some of the leading nobles in the land, some of the chief favorites of princes, so far forgetting themselves, as to patronise associations, that were not only hostile to a wise and moderate policy, but also at variance with our legal institutions. When, alas! will history cease to become a dead letter?

The extensive principles of religious toleration displayed in previous discussions, induced Mr. William Smith, one of the members for Norwich, to bring in a bill for relieving unitarian dissenters from pains and penalties to which they were subject. According to a statute of William III. a person who should impugn the doctrine of the Trinity, in conversation or writing, was incapacitated from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical,

or military ; and if a second time convicted of this offence, he was prohibited from prosecuting any action or information, or from becoming guardian to a child ; beside being liable to an imprisonment of three years. Neither the ministers nor the bench of bishops opposed concession in this instance ; and a bill of relief was speedily enacted.

While parliament declined the grant of fresh concessions to the Romanists, a strong inclination was shown to promote the interest of a numerous and deserving party in our own ecclesiastical establishment : the general disproportion between the stipends of curates and the value of livings which they served, as well as the necessitous condition of many who undertook the duty of non-resident clergymen, had long been a reproach to the church of England : to remove this stigma Lord Harrowby brought forward a bill for the augmentation of stipends payable to English curates ; and though it met with opposition from that strenuous defender of establishments the lord chancellor, the chief justice, and several prelates, who contended that it would encroach on the rights of beneficed clergymen, and even on private property, it passed triumphantly through both houses.

Among political debates, one of the most animated related to a convention with the Swedish court : in the upper house, this treaty provoked great severity of animadversion, notwithstanding an elaborate vindication of its terms by the earl of Liverpool, who maintained the policy of securing zealous co-operation from Sweden, which Napoleon had eagerly endeavoured, both by threats and promises, to obtain. Through the solicitations of the Russian emperor, the king and crown prince had been induced to enter into the confederacy against France ; and it was resolved, that, as the Danes had been subservient to French interests, they should be deprived of Norway for the gratification of the Swedes ; who would thus be enabled more effectually to secure a respectable independence : to this stipulation our court had acceded, not only for the reasons already assigned ; but because it was desirable, that a country which abounded with naval stores should be possessed by a power friendly to Great Britain. In addition, also, to this transfer, it was agreed that Sweden should receive a subsidy of one million ; and that the island of Guadaloupe should be ceded to its monarch, who had promised, in return, to open a *dépôt* for British commodities, at Gottenburg and other ports, in defiance of the continental system. This display of advantages did not convince lord Holland of the equity or justice of the measure ;

for he considered it as a very reprehensible treaty, disgraceful both to Russia and Great Britain: since the czar had no intention of restoring Finland to the Swedes, he was willing, said his lordship, to pacify them by plundering a third power, with which he was not at war; which conduct so resembled the practice of France, that he was disgusted at the gross inconsistency of those courts, which had loudly exclaimed against Napoleon's encroachments. Earl Grey was equally warm in his censures and invectives; but a majority of peers, impressed with the expediency of this measure, gave their approbation to the treaty. In the commons, Mr. Ponsonby took the lead as an opposer of the agreement; and, having assailed it with forcible arguments, he proposed that the regent should be requested to suspend its execution; not only because it violated morality, and the law of nations; but also on account of its impolicy, exhibited in the cession of Guadaloupe, and the unnecessary grant of £1,000,000: even Mr. Canning arraigned the conduct of his friends in this negotiation; yet he did not wish the house to adopt Mr. Ponsonby's motion; which he therefore softened by a qualifying amendment: however the majority rejected both, and gratified the regent with a compliant address. The session closed on the twenty-second of July.

CHAPTER LIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1813.

Defection of allies from Napoleon—His spirit and resources under this reverse of fortune—His departure from St. Cloud—Line occupied by the belligerents—Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen—Armistice and mediation of Austria—It fails, and Austria joins the allies—Influence of England—Napoleon's position at Dresden—Schwartzburg attacks the city, and fails—Napoleon's reverses commence—His retreat to Leipsic—Is defeated there, and flies to the Rhine—Dissolution of the Rhenish confederation, &c.—Other states declare themselves free—Declaration of the allies at Frankfurt—Rejected by Bonaparte—State of the armies in Spain—Efforts of the guerillas, &c.—Plan of the French campaign—The Douro taken as their base of operations—Joseph leaves Madrid—Affairs on the eastern coast of Spain; siege of Tarragona, &c.—Lord Wellington's advance—Surprise of Villatte's corps at Salamanca—The French army—Attack of its rear-guard at Morales—French retire behind the Carrion—Fall back on Burgos, and finally on Vittoria—Great battle, and defeat of the French, &c.—Joseph flies to Pampeluna, and thence to the Pyrenees—Pampeluna and St. Sebastian invested—Soult sent to take the chief command in Spain—Advances to attack the position of the allies, and is repulsed, and passes the Bidassoa—Suchet's movements—Siege and capture of St. Sebastian—Affairs in Catalonia—Ingratitude of the Spanish government—Campaign in the Pyrenees, from the passage of the Bidassoa to the retreat of the French to Bayonne—American campaign—Naval contest between the Shannon and the Chesapeake.

THE first event, abroad, which marked this eventful year, was the defection of the Prussian general D'Yorck; whose convention with the Russian Wittgenstein was not ratified by the king, his master, who was then within the grasp of Bonaparte: but no sooner was he free from danger, and aware that a chance of emancipation existed for himself and his country, than he expressed a decided approbation of his general's conduct, and soon afterwards joined the emperor Alexander at Breslau: as the season advanced, a Russian envoy was despatched to Vienna; and an armistice concluded: an Austrian ambassador arrived in London; and Sweden, by entering into an advantageous treaty, agreed to strike a decisive blow against the French

in Pomerania: alliances also with England were subsequently formed both by Prussia and Russia. In the mean time, the advance of Wittgenstein compelled the French forces to abandon the Oder, on which they had fallen back under Eugene Beauharnois, and to take up the defence of a new frontier on the Elbe: among all the great allies of France, Austria alone preserved a neutrality; but it scarcely could be expected that the court of Vienna, even if it had been inclined to favour the projects of Napoleon, could long resist the general movement in Germany.

Though the decline of Bonaparte's power was now evident; though all Europe had become weary of his domination, and those allies, by whose concurrence he had been raised, took part against him; though, at home, the priests had been secretly conspiring against him, since his rupture with the pope; and the mass of the nation began to show itself as weary of his ambitious conquests, as it once was of those odious factions from which he rescued France;—his indomitable spirit still bore him up against all reverses. During the first three months of this year, he strained every nerve to recruit his armies, or rather to create new ones: by a decree of the conservative senate on the tenth of January, 250,000 conscripts more than he had demanded were placed at his disposal; for he found means to impart a portion of his spirit, even to those who were tired of his rule; and he exhibited no slight knowledge of the French character, when he declared in the *Moniteur* of the thirtieth of March, 'that even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire:' by the beginning of April, he had procured decrees for levies to the amount of 535,000 men: on the fifteenth, he left St. Cloud, Maria Louisa having been declared regent, 'till victory should restore the emperor to his capital.'

Germany was again destined to be the field of battle: the Elbe, from its mouth to the frontiers of Bohemia, formed a line of division between the belligerent powers; and on the other side, three Prussian fortresses, beside Dantzic, were in the hands of the French: Napoleon also exacted their contingents from the princes of his Rhenish confederation; while he retained his faithful ally, the king of Saxony, and gained a willing one in Denmark, disgusted at the prospect of the Norwegian appropriation. Painful as was the situation of towns and places lying between the armies, a still more cruel fate befel Hamburg; which, having opened its gates to the Cossacks in March, was re-occupied by the French in May, and abandoned to Napoleon's

revenge under the vigorous administration of the savage and inexorable Davoust. The war of liberation began with the battle of Lutzen, on the second of May, which Bonaparte gained with an army composed chiefly of raw conscripts: still there were no longer the brilliant results of victory; in cannon, standards, and baggage taken: indeed both parties slept on that battle field, where the great christian champion, Gustavus Adolphus, fell in the year 1632: the day of panic was now gone; and the allies made a regular retreat, not a disorderly flight, over the Elbe: the occupation of Dresden was followed by another victory at Bautzen, on the twenty-first of May, which was far from being decisive, although it obliged the allies to evacuate their line of defence, that covered Silesia, and to retire into Bohemia: but their retreat was still orderly; not a cannon or a prisoner being left in possession of the enemy. This victory opened for the French a passage to the Oder: Glogau was relieved, Breslau occupied, and Berlin itself threatened: but an appeal now made to Austria took effect: an armistice had been settled soon after the battle, both parties being exhausted, and expecting reinforcements; during which period, the emperor Francis interposed his mediation. How visible appears the hand of Providence in the fall of Napoleon! had he been repulsed from Bautzen, before Austria entered into any stipulation with the allies, that power would probably have pressed for nothing beyond the independence of Germany: now to this demand she added the abandonment of the duchy of Warsaw, and of Illyria; the re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy; and the dissolution of the Rhenish confederation. Napoleon could not yield to this; for, elated by his two victories, which were at best but victories without results, over estimating his resources, and consulting only the obstinate pride of his own heart, he considered himself as much entitled to dictate terms and to refuse concessions, at the conclusion of an armistice solicited equally by himself and by his antagonists, as when he stood on the field of Austerlitz. Verily 'pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' The tenor of his answer was even affronting; and on the twelfth of August, Austria, joining the allies, declared war against France: during the armistice, she had concerted a preliminary alliance with Russia and Prussia, which came into operation of itself with the declaration of war. Great Britain also took advantage of this opportunity to put forth her mighty powers, and at the right time: Sweden had been first taken into her pay; in the middle of June she concluded a treaty of

subsidies with Russia and Prussia; giving, in addition, her guarantee for paper to the amount of £5,000,000 sterling, under the name of federative money; and in the beginning of October, she signed a treaty of alliance with Austria, stipulating for mutual aid to the utmost limits: her victories also, as well as her purse, came most opportunely to rouse and push to its conclusion that European reaction against France, which otherwise might have languished: for tidings of the great battle of Vittoria arrived, at the very point of time, to strengthen the confidence of German courts and ministers.

Bonaparte's principal officers now advised him to retreat at once to the Rhine; but he had fortified Dresden, as the grand pivot of his operations, and distributed his army in separate corps around it, holding the imperial guard under his own command, as a reserve; and with these he determined to proceed in trying the fortune of war. In fact the tenure of Dresden was precarious and dangerous; but Napoleon relied on his own genius for maintaining it, not so much for any fancied advantages it might afford as a military post, but because he was unwilling to give up the political keystone on which the arch of the Rhenish confederation depended. As soon as the armistice expired, he hastened with his guard, and some divisions, to surprise Blücher; but that general, according to a concerted plan, retreated, and carried with him two Westphalian regiments, who deserted the French ranks: in the mean time, prince Schwartzburg, a dull Austrian, to whom, in honor of his master, the chief command of all the armies was confided, attacked Dresden; and was on the point of success; when Napoleon returned with his legions, repulsed the enemy from its walls, and in two successive days wholly routed his opponents, taking all their cannon, with 20,000 prisoners, while the rest fled to their Bohemian fastnesses. The French emperor, as if infected with Austrian inertia, neglected to improve this advantage, and returned with careless indifference to Dresden, instead of taking the road to Tœplitz, pioneered even to his own direction by Vandamme; and by which he might have anticipated his discomfited foes debouching into the Bohemian valleys. Fortune therefore, a capricious dame, now seemed to desert him; and his victory was followed by a quick succession of reverses: Vandamme, who had pursued a part of the retreating forces, being taken in front and rear by a Prussian and a Russian army, was obliged to surrender with his whole division: besides, the defensive plan of the allies, said to have been recommended

by Bernadotte, now acted with fatal effect on Napoleon: this plan was, to retreat from him, but always to make head against his lieutenants. Thus Blücher, that aged man with a youthful spirit, defeated Macdonald on the twenty-sixth of August, and almost annihilated his army at the Katzbach; a day in which the rain fell down in such torrents that flint and gunpowder were totally useless; and it came literally to a murderous grapple of man with man: 'thus,' says one of those master spirits of song that rose at this period,

'Thus 'twas fought by German *people*,
Not by bondsmen, not by princes:
God, to right the wrongs of ages,
Measures not revenge by inches.'

Oudinot, sent against Berlin, as the minister of Napoleon's vengeance, had been just before defeated by Bülow at Gross Beeren; and the gallant Ney, despatched to repair this loss, could not master fortune: he was routed by the same commander in the battle of Dennewitz, where his Saxon regiments deserted him during the heat of the conflict; and it became evident that no auxiliaries could be depended on by the French, who could march against no German capital without trampling on the dead bodies of its native defenders. In the mean time, Napoleon's generals became dispirited; and, contrary to their master's inclination, counselled retreat: the allied force daily increased, while his own diminished; Bavaria was obliged to declare against him; and Leipsic was menaced in his rear: so that in the early part of October he was forced to transfer his head quarters to that city, leaving marshal St. Cyr in command at Dresden. The memorable battle, of three days' duration, which decided Napoleon's fate, took place on the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of October: during the seventeenth there was a truce; but on the evening of that day, the four armies of the allies formed a junction; presenting, with their reserves, a force of 300,000 men, opposed to about 170,000: the military annals of the world afford no parallel to such a meeting; where Napoleon the Great, posted himself with his face to the foe and his back to the city walls, determined like a brave man to yield only to the stroke of fate. On the eighteenth, a grand attack was made upon the French; and after nine hours of hard fighting, the battle was decided: on the nineteenth, Leipsic was taken by assault; the Saxon king was made prisoner; and Bonaparte fled with his routed army to the Rhine, pursued by Blücher: but skilfully and terribly as his genius could direct itself in advance or attack,

he could not anticipate and prepare for a retreat: from Leipsic now, as before from Moscow, and afterwards from Waterloo, he was precipitated with a ruin which scarcely required pursuit to make it sure: he fell like an edifice which has been erected upon an artificial foundation; and deeply instructive is the history of his fall. On his way toward the river he was attacked by the Bavarians, under Wrede; but a charge made by the remnant of the old guard sufficed to punish this ingratitude; and he carried about 70,000 men into Mayence, to fill the hospitals of that ancient city.

The princes of Germany, and with them its people, now threw off the yoke of the Rhenish confederation; and the war decidedly took a popular character: men, and even women, rose up in arms for the liberation of their father-land; the very spirit of Hermann seemed awakened; and the day of humiliation yielded to the day of glory. As the revolutionary tide flowed back, monarchs began to mark and claim their properties: Hanover and Brunswick resumed their ancient allegiance; Holland recalled its former dynasty; and William of Orange was now saluted king of the Netherlands: Bernadotte in the north, and Murat in the south, only held their kingdoms by joining the allies against Napoleon; who himself set free the pope and Ferdinand of Spain, to re-establish governments in their respective countries which demons might rejoice to imitate: thus fell the exterior defences of a mighty empire, built up on false principles, and pushed beyond due geographical limits. In the mean time, the allies declared, at Frankfort, 'that they contended not against France, but against the authority exercised by Napoleon beyond the boundaries of his empire: they wished to see France great, powerful, and happy, as one of the corner stones of the social system; they would permit her to retain a territory greater than she had ever possessed under her kings; a territory bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees—the independence of Germany and that of the Spanish peninsula being conceded on his part; whilst Austria should have a frontier in Italy, and Holland one in the Netherlands, both to be made matters of future discussion; and that England was willing to make great sacrifices for peace on such foundations, acknowledging that freedom of commerce to which France had a right to pretend: but they too wished to be quiet and happy: they desired a state of peace, with a just balance and distribution of power, to protect them from the misery which they had experienced during twenty years; and

until this object was attained, they would not lay aside their arms.' Nothing could appear more just and elevated than these sentiments; nothing more reasonable than a limit set to that system of universal dominion which France had been taught to expect; and it has generally been thought that these terms were indignantly rejected by Napoleon whose heart Providence had hardened like that of Pharaoh; but some who have investigated the subject more deeply, especially that acute historian colonel Napier, assure us that the whole was a snare of Metternich, and that the mention of England, who declared against her maritime rights being made a subject of discussion, was introduced for the very purpose of breaking off negotiations;¹ to which Napoleon was the more inclined, because the idea never forsook him, that his imperial father-in-law would at all events preserve him on the throne. Thus after offers which were always made while the allied troops were advancing, Napoleon decreed a fresh levy of 300,000 conscripts, which was considered an aggression that cut him off from farther negotiations; the bubble burst; and the contest recommenced. But while these opposite parties had been deliberating about boundaries, the most skilful and persevering of Napoleon's antagonists had already passed them; Wellington with his British army and peninsular allies, stood on the 'sacred territory' of France: his progress thither, in a series of brilliant successes, remain to be described.

While the period of inactivity had been employed by this great commander in restoring the health, discipline, and numbers of his army, the forces of his antagonists were cut up by guerilla parties, especially those under Longa in the north, and Mina in Arragon and Navarre, materially assisted by supplies from British vessels on the coast: so formidable had these chiefs now become, that Clausel himself advanced with a large body of troops to hunt down Mina; but in this attempt, his own men suffered more than their hardy opponents, who were intimately acquainted with the country, and accustomed to the hair-breadth escapes of such campaigns. On the side of Biscay, the French were more successful; for

¹ When by this subtlety (says colonel Napier) they had rendered peace impossible, they proclaimed that Napoleon alone resisted the desire of the world for tranquillity: and at this very moment Austria was secretly endeavoring to obtain England's consent to her seizing on Alsace; a project which was stopped by lord Wellington, who forcibly pointed out the danger of rousing France to a general insurrection by such a proceeding.—vol. vi. p. 454.

they surprised and captured general Renovales, with six of his officers, at Carvajales de Zamora; while Foy, after a siege of eighteen days, took Castro de Urdiales, from which Cafarelli had been repulsed. As an example of the cruel manner in which the cities of Spain were treated by their invaders, the following description of this siege is extracted from the work of one of our ablest writers:—‘The governor, Don Pedro Pablo Alvares, discharged his duty to the utmost; and the *Lyra*, Royalist, and Sparrow sloops of war, with the *Alpheia* schooner, under captain Bloye, assisted in the defence. Foy brought all the force he could collect against it, and proceeded, as if he hoped to strike the province as well as the garrison with terror; for he offered no terms, and seemed determined to take the place by storm, let it cost what it would. When he had made a breach wide enough to admit twenty men abreast, he turned his guns on the town and castle, and threw shells incessantly at the bridge that connected the castle with the landing-place; hoping thus to cut off the retreat of the garrison, which, at the commencement of the siege, consisted of 1200 men: at noon, the enemy entered in great numbers through the breach, and by escalade in various parts: the garrison, when they could no longer defend the town, retreated into the castle: the ships’ boats were in readiness to receive them, and they were embarked by companies, under a tremendous fire of musketry; two companies remaining to defend the castle till the last gun was thrown into the sea: every soldier was brought off, with many of the inhabitants, and landed at Bermeo on the following day: the town was burnt. Foy indeed acted in the spirit of his Portuguese campaign: as he had offered no terms, he showed no mercy, but when the town was entered, put its defenders to the bayonet without distinction: it had been well if the wickedness of the enemy had ended there; but in one of their unsuccessful attacks many of their men had been pushed down a ravine by their fellows, while pressing forward to the charge; the bridge by which they expected to cross having been destroyed by the English; and because the inhabitants had not informed them of the destruction of this bridge, they butchered men and women, sparing none, and inflicting on them cruelties which nothing but a devilish nature could devise.’²

Few attempts were made on the enemy’s part to annoy

² Southey’s History of the Peninsular War, vol. iii.

our allied army during the winter and spring, though great activity was shown in plundering the inhabitants; this kind of war being carried on in so shameless a manner, that the king, it is said, was obliged to call one of his generals to account. The plan adopted by Joseph's council at Madrid, for the ensuing campaign, was to take the Douro as a line of defence, contrary to the opinion of Clausel, who thought that they had committed an error, in not concentrating their forces more on the Ebro: accordingly, works were thrown up on the right bank of the deep and rapid Douro, at every assailable point. Soult had been called away in March; and the veterans which he carried with him to the German campaign were but ill exchanged for new conscripts, sent to gain experience in the peninsular warfare; neither was the loss of that great general himself compensated by the abilities of marshal Jourdan, who acted as major-general to the king: in the mean time, the intrusive monarch quitted his capital, to which he was never to return, and removed his head-quarters to Valladolid. On the eleventh of April, general Hugo, who had been left in command at Madrid, issued orders for the troops to follow; when the most precious articles in its cabinet of natural history were sent off, and whatever else could be conveniently moved from the public establishments; whilst all arrears of contribution were exacted with the utmost rigor: it is said that a sufficient number of beasts were not left in the capital for the scavengers; so that its inhabitants were ordered to collect the sweepings of streets into the squares, and there burn what used to be carried into the country for manure.³ We must now take a brief view of proceedings on the eastern coast of Spain.

In the November of the preceding year, sir William Clinton arrived at Alicante to supersede general Maitland, whose health compelled him to retire; and notwithstanding the ill-timed and ill-founded jealousy of Spaniards, he succeeded in obtaining possession of the castle, and garrisoning it with our troops. In December, a reinforcement of 4000 men were sent from Sicily under general James Campbell, who took the command till lord William Bentinck should arrive from Palermo: that diplomatic general however was detained so long at the Sicilian capital, by the necessity of removing its infamous queen from the scene of her intrigues, and by fruitless attempts to establish a representative constitution before any improvement had been effected in the people, that

³ Southey, vol. iii. p. 607.

no end could be seen to this delay ; and sir John Murray was sent from England, to command the allied force in that part of Spain : this officer however was unfortunately no match for Suchet, one of the most active and enterprising of all Bonaparte's generals ; though the first action in which they engaged, at Castella, on the thirteenth of April, turned out favourably to the British ; chiefly through the splendid exertions of colonel Reeves : but the commander-in-chief neglected to follow up his success ; and from that moment, Victory, offended as it were, at the rejection of her advances, deserted his banners ; operations however were still carried on : and even the retention of a position in the country, with the consequent occupation of Suchet's troops, favored the advance of lord Wellington's army : to prevent the necessity of recurring to future movements of this motley force, which was designated in ridicule at head-quarters by the name of 'Noah's ark,' it may be advisable to anticipate its operations. On the thirty-first of May, sir John Murray, leaving a garrison at Alicante, embarked the rest of his army on board the English fleet, cruising off that station : and on the third of June invested Tarragona : having possessed himself of Fort St. Phillippa, on the Col de Balguer, which blocks the direct road to Tortosa, he advanced his batteries against the place ; when Suchet, who had recently been created duke of Albufera, marched from Valencia with a large force to its relief : without waiting however for any certain tidings of the enemy's approach, or information of his actual strength, sir John determined to avoid the conflict by a timely retreat ; in hurried confusion therefore he embarked his troops, and left his cannon in battery, though admiral Hallowell counselled him to remain till night, and engaged, with the assistance of his ships and marines, to carry all safely off. This conduct was subjected to much censure and ridicule abroad ; but, when investigated by a military tribunal in England, was attributed solely to an error of judgment : the command however was now given to lord William Bentinck : who also failed before Tarragona, though without any loss of national honor. When the victorious advance of Wellington rendered a concentration of French armies necessary on the frontier, Suchet abandoned the place, after blowing up its walls, and retired toward the Pyrenees ; though not without some sharp actions with the Catalonian forces.

About this time, however, a plot existed, much more dangerous to Spanish independence than the weakness of their

generals and the disasters of their campaigns. The French emperor's vast designs against Germany, 'stayed the peninsular cause,' as colonel Napier observes, 'on the very brink of a precipice; for it appears that early in 1813, the ever factious Conde de Montijo, then a general in Elio's army, had secretly made proposals to pass over, with the forces under his command, to the king; and soon afterwards the whole army of Del Parque, having advanced into La Mancha, made offers of the same nature. They were actually in negotiation with Joseph, when the emperor's orders obliged the French army to abandon Madrid, and take up the line of the Douro: then the Spaniards, advertised of the French weakness, feared to continue their negotiations; Wellington soon after advanced; and as this feeling in favor of the intrusive monarch was not general, resistance to the invaders revived with the successes of the British general: but if, instead of diminishing his forces, Napoleon, victorious in Russia, had strengthened them, this defection would certainly have taken place, and would probably have been followed by others; the king, at the head of a Spanish army, would have reconquered Andalusia; Wellington would have been confined to the defence of Portugal, and it is scarcely to be supposed that England would have purchased the independence of that country with her own permanent ruin.'⁴

On the sixteenth of May, Wellington, after having, by an appeal to their patriotism, appeased the exasperated feelings of his Portuguese troops, from whom a year's pay was kept back by their infamous government, put his grand army in motion; the British under his command amounting to 48,000 effective men; the Portuguese to about 28,000; and the Gallician to 18,000: the enemy were not inferior in number; and could rely more confidently on the whole of their troops; but the change in the emperor's fortunes and their own had been such, that they looked only to a defensive campaign, and relied on their strong position along the Douro. The right of the allies under sir Rowland Hill, marched by the route of Alba de Tormes on Salamanca; the centre, under lord Wellington in person, took a more direct road to the same city; while the left, under sir Thomas Graham, crossed the Lamego by boats, prepared for that purpose: in this advance, our men were enabled to trace the line of their retreat last year, by the skeletons of the poor animals which had been worked to death

⁴ Vol. v. p. 407.

in that dreadful service. A division of infantry under general Villatte had been left in Salamanca, with a corps of artillery and three squadrons of horse: on these the allies came so rapidly, that they had scarcely time to effect a retreat; they were however pursued vigorously by the horse artillery, and an attack of cavalry was made on them at Aldea Lengua, where they gave proofs of great intrepidity; throwing themselves into hollow squares, and repelling every charge, though more than 100 men fell dead in the ranks from heat and fatigue; the pursuit ended at Aldea Rubia, where our troops were recalled, leaving about fourscore of the enemy slain at that place, and carrying off 200 prisoners, with Villatte's coach, as well as seven guns and a quantity of ammunition.

On the twenty-ninth, lord Wellington left Salamanca, and reached Miranda de Duero; the enemy having destroyed all the bridges on the river except that at Zamora. 'Opposite Miranda,' says Mr. Southey, 'there is a ferry, where the deep and rapid stream is from eighty to one hundred yards wide, and the rocks on either side about 500 feet in height: when it is so swollen that the ferry is impracticable, the only way by which travellers can cross, is after the old Peruvian manner, in a sort of hammock or cradle, fastened to a rope, secured on two projecting points of rock, about thirty feet above the ordinary level of the water:' here Wellington crossed, and next day joined Graham's corps at Carvajales on the Ezla, which river our troops began to ford on the thirty-first: in this operation several valuable lives were lost; for the ford was chin-deep; and the infantry being ordered to hold by the stirrups of the cavalry, the horses became restive; so that many lost their footing, and were rolled down by the force of the current: after this accident, a pontoon bridge, which should have been thought of before, was thrown over the stream.

The French army, now comprehending the plan of our general, and menaced by his advancing columns, hastily destroyed the bridge of Zamora, and evacuated that city, as well as Toro: near to this latter place, the hussar brigade, under colonel Grant, came up with a rear-guard of cavalry, which retired rapidly to the village of Morales, behind which they formed: yielding however to the impetuosity of the British, they retired to a small bridge across a marshy bottom; where, being supported by some guns belonging to their infantry, they stood a charge, and were worsted in it, but contrived to pass the bridge; when captain Lloyd of the tenth

hussars, hastily following with a small number of his men, was taken prisoner : but the French lost, in these affairs, a large number of killed, wounded, and captives ; while their sixteenth regiment was also annihilated : captain Lloyd is said to have been ill-treated by his captors, who beat and rifled him ; but left him in their retreat. ' Though the fighting,' says Southey, ' was almost in the street of Morales, the Spaniards were now so accustomed to sights of war, that within ten minutes after the firing had ceased, women were spinning at their doors, and little children at play, as if nothing had happened.' Lord Wellington halted at Toro, that the light troops, under Hill, might cross the Douro by its bridge ; that his rear might come up ; and that the Gallician forces might join his left wing : when he advanced again, on the third of June, the French, whose force was distributed between Valladolid, Tordesillas, and Medina, retired before him, made a show of concentration behind the Pisergua, but again withdrew behind the Carrion : the allied army crossed that river on the seventh : and on the twelfth, Wellington found it necessary to halt and refresh his troops after long and fatiguing marches. Joseph was now falling back on Burgos, the castle of which place had been greatly strengthened : a slight show of opposition was made on the heights of Hormaza ; but the enemy soon retreated on the city, after suffering a considerable loss from our horse-artillery, and leaving one gun, with some prisoners in the hands of their opponents : this was in the evening ; and the allies fully expected that a battle would take place next morning ; but Joseph had miscalculated the number of his foes ; the divisions of Clausel and Foy were unable to arrive in time ; a report from Jourdan assured him, that the castle of Burgos was untenable from want of magazines and from unfinished works ; while numerous *partidas*, under ferocious leaders, were gathering around him, cutting off stragglers and intercepting supplies : in the night therefore the French retreated, from a strong position near the suburbs, into the city ; and then hurrying also from its walls, they blew up the castle, about an hour after the king had left it : apparently aware that their ascendancy in the country was gone, they wished to bring upon the wretched inhabitants a calamity that might prevent any joy at their deliverance ; but these malignant intentions were in a great measure frustrated by defective arrangements ; while part of the evil fell on the heads of its contrivers. ' Many of their men, lingering to plunder, perished as they were loading their horses with booty in the streets and

squares and three or four hundred of a column defiling under the castle walls, were destroyed by a shower of its fragments. 'Above 1000 shells had been placed in the mines; the explosion was distinctly heard at the distance of fifty miles; and the pavement of the cathedral was covered with dust, into which its windows had been shivered by the shock. The town, with the exception of the nearest streets, escaped destruction, owing to the failure of several mines; but the castle was nearly destroyed; gates, beams, masses of masonry, guns, carriages, and arms lying in one heap of ruins: some of the mines had laid open the breaches, and exposed the remains of those who had fallen during the siege.⁵

King Joseph now continued his retreat toward Vittoria, his object at this period being to prevent Wellington from crossing the Ebro; to effect which, he hastily passed that river and took up a strong position on its left bank; strengthening at the same time the castle of Pancorbo, to check an advance of the allies along the great road through Berbiesca to Miranda: the British general however was aware of these movements, and instead of following the enemy in that direction, suddenly changed his route, and moved his left wing higher up the river, over a rough country; when, placing himself between the sources of the Ebro and the great mountains of Reynosa, he cut the French intirely off from the sea coast; and obliged them to evacuate the ports; English vessels then entered Sant Andero; where a depôt and hospital were established, and the connection of the British forces with Portugal was totally severed. 'That country (says colonel Napier) was now cast off by the army, as a heavy tender is cast from its towing rope; all the British military establishments being broken up and transferred by sea to the coast of Biscay:' the rapid movement of this corps, which passed the Ebro on the fourteenth, so disconcerted Joseph's plans, that he retired speedily toward Vittoria, and left the passage of the river free; his army however was so quickly pursued, that it soon became evident, both to himself and Jourdan, that a battle must take place: indeed, they were surrounded with difficulties, and defeat itself could hardly be more disastrous than a retreat into France: so, being convinced that decision was necessary, they took up a position in front of Vittoria: their left rested on some heights terminating at the Puebla de Arlanza, with a reserve in its rear; their centre extended

⁵ Southey, vol. iii. p. 623.

along a strong range of heights on the left bank of the Zadorra, resting to the right on a circular hill covered with infantry, and defended with several brigades of artillery; while their right was placed in advance of the river, above the village of Abecheneo, to defend the passage. This position, eight miles in extent, covered the three great roads, which converge on Vittoria from Bilboa, Logroño, and Madrid; also crossing the main road to Bayonne: within sight of it was fought the battle of Najara; where, as Mr. Southey observes, 'Edward the Black Prince, acting as the ally of a bad man, defeated the best troops of France under their most distinguished leader Bertram de Guesclin, who was come in support of a worse:?' lord Wellington and Jourdan were not quite in parallel circumstances; for indubitably his lordship was an ally of the worse man, though he fought in the better cause. On the nineteenth, the French rear-guard, strongly posted on some heights near Pobes, was driven back on the main body by the British light and fourth divisions; and on the twentieth Wellington collected his troops, and made his dispositions for battle. His centre was occupied by the third, fourth, seventh, and light divisions, in two lines; his right, where Hill commanded, by the second, by a Portuguese division, and a Spanish corps; his left, under Graham, by the first and fifth divisions, Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and a Spanish division under Longa, with Bock and Anson's brigades of cavalry. As daylight broke on the twenty-first, the lines were formed; and the men were burning with impatience to attack a foe, whose continual flight had begun to inspire them with contempt.

The Spaniards, under Morillo, commenced the action by gallantly attacking the heights of Arlanzon, on the left of the French position; but the enemy stood firm, making great exertions to maintain their ground; though they found that they had not occupied it with sufficient strength, and were obliged to detach forces from their centre: sir Rowland Hill, therefore, finding it necessary to send considerable reinforcements also on his side, the contest became severe and the losses considerable: Morillo was wounded, but would not quit the field; and colonel Cadogan, an officer of high promise, who had led the British succors, fell honorably on the field of battle: at length, the French were driven from their heights at the point of the bayonet; and under cover of this ground, sir Rowland crossed the Zadorra at Puebla, passed a difficult defile about two miles in length, and attacked with



success the village of Sabijana, which covered the left of the enemy's line. Though they made repeated attempts, with large reinforcements from the centre, to recover this village, all were made in vain. •

Natural difficulties of the country necessarily delayed communication between different columns; so that, during this struggle on the right, the centre was inactive: it is said that Picton became impatient, and inquired of several aides-de-camp whether they brought any orders; for he had the utmost difficulty in restraining the ardor of his men. As the day wore on, it is reported that he became furious,⁶ asking if lord Wellington had forgotten them: the men also were becoming very discontented; when an aide-de-camp came riding up at speed; and, having checked his horse, demanded of the general if he had seen lord Dalhousie. 'No, sir,' was the reply: 'but have you any orders for me?'—'None at all,' replied the messenger. 'Then, pray, sir,' continued the irritated general, 'what orders do you bring?'—'That as soon as lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, shall commence an attack on that bridge to the left, the fourth and sixth are to support him.' As Picton could not understand the idea of any other division fighting in his front, he replied to the astonished officer,—'You may tell lord Wellington from me, sir, that the third division, under my command, shall, in less than ten minutes, attack that bridge and carry it; when the fourth and sixth may support us if they choose.'⁷ Picton knew his men when he made this boast: the fighting division under his command had never yet been repulsed; so, turning to them with those bland expressions which would have led them against a legion of infernals—'Come on, you rascals; come on, you fighting villains'—he put himself at their head.⁸

As the division advanced, it was met by a heavy fire of artillery; but it moved steadily on, till the leading columns rushed over the bridge, and formed in open column; when they moved by their left, so as to attack the intire centre of the enemy: still advancing in the same order, they pressed up the heights, where they quickly deployed into line; and the enemy, panic-struck, scarcely awaited their attack. Picton had now gained the heights; but the divisions on his right

⁶ *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 195.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 196.

⁸ The higher authority, however, of colonel Napier credits the commander-in-chief with this forward move of Picton's division, though he gives due praise to the gallantry displayed both by the leader and his men.

had not made sufficient progress to cover his flank, and he kept back his men; but the seventh, and part of the light division, with the fourth under Cole, soon arrived to cover his advance. During this time, the enemy made several strenuous efforts to dislodge him, bringing more than forty pieces of cannon to bear on his position; while dense masses of infantry pushed forward on all parts of his line, in spite of the destruction caused in their ranks by its incessant fire. At length, he gave the word, 'to charge;' and the result was certain: nothing could resist men so resolute, and so led: they bore down all opposition, spreading consternation and death through all opposing ranks. As the other two divisions ascended the heights, each took up its position in the line laid down; the third still keeping the enemy's centre in its front: and now the whole advanced in line against the French, who had taken up fresh ground in rear of the heights: the ardor of the third again brought them first into contact with the enemy: the uneven and broken ground in front for a time rendered their progress difficult; but after exposure to an irritating fire, they quickly ran to the charge; and the flight of their adversaries was so precipitate, that they left twenty-eight pieces of artillery behind them.

The seventh division met with a severe check at the village of Gomecha, where an adjoining wood was filled with French troops; but a part of the light division came to its support, while Picton still pressed the enemy's centre, till they abandoned their ground, and fell back upon Vittoria: when Hill was made acquainted with this success, he renewed his efforts against their left wing; and, after some spirited fighting, succeeded in forcing their position, and driving them back in disorder.

The British left, under Graham, had not been so completely successful: coming up, at the onset, with the right of the French army, posted in two villages, and on some intervening heights, they instantly attacked, and after a determined resistance and much slaughter, drove it from its position. In rear of these villages were two bridges over the Zadorra, whence there was but a short distance to Vittoria; so that, had the left wing been successful in effecting a passage here, the French army probably must have surrendered; since the retreat to Bayonne was already cut off by Longa's Spanish division: but the importance of this post was known to marshal Jourdan; and some of his choicest troops were drawn from the centre to defend it; so that sir T. Graham was

obliged to wait for the farther successes of our centre and right. The battle now presented a grand spectacle, as our three central divisions moved forward in line, and the enemy retreated gradually before them, fighting: this retrograde movement, however, became more rapid after every charge of the British, until a stand was made about a mile from the city: one hundred pieces of artillery then opened with destructive fire on the pursuers; and it might have been supposed that the day was still to be won; but the moral force of each army was totally dissimilar; the French were fighting on retreat, without confidence in their leaders; the allies were flushed with conquest, and never thought of defeat when led by Wellington. Night was now approaching, and a decisive blow was desirable: the British divisions paused for a few moments to close up their ranks, and then advanced in serried line, opposed to an incessant storm of shot; but the enemy could not stand their shock, and the day was won. Never, says colonel Napier, was a defeated army more hardly used by its commander; for the soldiers were not half beaten, and yet never was a victory more complete.

A total route now ensued, and an organised army became a wild and affrighted mob: the allies pressed hard on their rear; when Joseph himself with difficulty escaped out of the city, by quitting his carriage, and mounting a horse: our tenth hussars however were compensated by a rich booty found in his calash, consisting of all the portable treasures of his regalia. When a retreat was ordered, it proved that the movement of carriages on the Pampeluna road was impracticable from the interposition of marshy ground; so that the confusion became indescribable: all the French artillery of reserve, ammunition, and baggage waggons, the military chest, equipages, and treasure of the king, were taken: 'the spoils,' says Southey, 'resembled those of an oriental, rather than of an European army; for the intruder, who, in his miserable situation, had abandoned himself to every kind of sensuality, had with him all his luxuries: his plunder, wardrobe, side-board, larder, and cellar, all fell into the hands of his conquerors: the French officers had followed his example; and thus the finest wines and choicest delicacies were found in profusion: the wives and mistresses also of these men had collected together in one house, where they were safe, and were sent with a flag of truce to Pampeluna: poodles, parrots, and monkeys being among the prisoners.' Part of the victorious army, according to the same authority, assumed

the appearance of a masquerade ; Portuguese boys figuring in the dress-coats of French generals ; while those who happened to draw a woman's wardrobe in the lottery, covered themselves with silks, satins, and embroidered muslins : some of the more fortunate soldiers got possession of the military chest, and loaded themselves with money. ' Let them have it,' said lord Wellington, when informed of the affair ; ' they deserve all they can find, were it ten times as much.' Among the other trophies of this field, was the baton of marshal Jourdan, taken by the eighty-ninth regiment ; and the British general sent it with his despatches to the regent ; by whom a very handsome letter was returned, together with the baton of an English field-marshal : ' the British army,' said the writer, ' will hail it with enthusiasm ; while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it.' This splendid victory excited throughout England enthusiastic joy : it was celebrated by general illuminations, and a grand national festival in Vauxhall gardens, where a multitude of our most distinguished characters, with foreign ambassadors, and others, partook of a splendid dinner ; and in the evening the place was crowded with ladies introduced by the stewards : mean time, the victorious Wellington was fighting his way to the French frontier.

General Clausel, with about 14,000 men, had commenced his march to support the king ; but now, changing his direction, he turned toward Logroño ; and being pursued, retired on Saragossa, with the guerilla forces of Mina and Sanchez hanging on his rear. General Foy also, who found himself in considerable danger, retreated with several garrisons toward France, by way of Toloso ; and being also joined by many of the French troops discomfited at Vittoria, made head against Graham who pursued him, and passed the Bidassoa. As for Joseph, he hardly looked back before he had reached the walls of Pampeluna : but the garrison would not admit his flying soldiers ; who, in attempting to force their army over its walls, were driven off by the fire of their own countrymen ; they continued their flight therefore to the fastnesses of the Pyrenees : provisions however were thrown into Pampeluna, which fortress was expected by its great strength to check the advance of the allies : its blockade was committed to an army of 10,000 Spaniards under the conde de Bisbal ; while sir Thomas Graham was directed to invest the fortress of St. Sebastian with the first and fifth divisions : but another struggle was about to be made by Napoleon to retrieve his

declining fortunes: his victories at Lutzen and Bautzen, in some degree restored the balance of his power, and the negotiations which followed them had an effect on the peninsular war. Wellington's first intention, says colonel Napier, was to reduce Pampeluna by force; but Portugal had been relinquished as a place of arms; a new base of operations, therefore, was required, lest a change of fortune should force the allies to return thither, when all their great military establishments were broken up; when the opposition of the native government to British influence was become rancorous, and the public sentiment quite averse to British supremacy. The Western Pyrenees offered such a base: yet their harbors were few, and a convenient one near the positions of our army was required: St. Sebastian was such an one, and our commander was anxious to obtain it before negotiations for a German armistice could be concluded.

The disastrous intelligence of the French defeat at Vittoria fell on Napoleon, in his Saxon campaign, like a thunderbolt; for he saw, that while he was fighting drawn battles beyond the Rhine, Wellington was marching forward to force the Pyrenees: retreat however in presence of the Russian and Prussian armies was ruin: he attempted therefore to negotiate; while he sent his best general, the duke of Dalmatia, to take the command in Spain, with supreme power, as lieutenant of the emperor. When Soult arrived at Bayonne on the twelfth of July, he superseded both Jourdan and Joseph; but the army was now little more than a skeleton: still this able and active general contrived by great exertions to concentrate the scattered soldiers; who, feeling confidence in such a commander, freely rallied round his standard: artillery was forwarded with incredible celerity toward the frontier; and within a month from the signal defeat at Vittoria, the French army amounted to more than 80,000 men. A change was now about to take place in the character of the contest; the allies having to attack and defend a series of mountain defiles, where cavalry could not act, and in positions to which artillery could not be brought; and this, against troops whose lightness, activity, and general habits, peculiarly fitted them for such a species of warfare.

Soult, having put Bayonne into a state of defence, and divided his army into three corps, under generals Reille, d'Erlon, and Clausel, resumed the offensive on the twenty-fourth of July; when he recrossed the frontier, and directed his movements to relieve St. Sebastian and Pampeluna. To

meet his advance, the allied army was placed in a position occupying all the Pyrenean defiles between those two fortresses ; and the famous pass of Roncesvalles was again held by Spanish soldiers, under the ferocious Morillo, supported by a brigade of the second British division under general Byng. It was this pass which Soult endeavored to force on the twenty-fifth, at the head of 35,000 men, while sir Rowland Hill was severely pressed at that of Maya by superior numbers under Drouet ; and at the same time, a large body of the enemy manœuvred on Byng's left, along the ridge of Arola, occupied by the fourth division, under Cole : the situation of the allies was at this moment very critical ; for had one of these passes been gained, the security of their position would have been lost ; and Soult would have rushed with his legions into the very heart of Spain : Wellington was absent at St. Sebastian, not expecting this sudden attack ; and the pressure was so great on the British divisions, that all were obliged to give way, and seek for more secure positions ; when Picton put his reserve in motion, and marched to support Cole's fourth division, taking the command as senior officer, and making dispositions to receive the foe. By daybreak on the twenty-sixth, Soult renewed the attack ; when, his superior numbers rendering resistance hopeless, Picton fell back, and occupied the heights of Zubiri, counteracting every attempt of the advancing enemy to throw his troops into confusion ; but though checked for a time, Soult was able to force his adversary back on the villages of Huerta and Villalba. A strong position between the rivers Arga and Lanz would enable him to cover the blockade of Pampeluna ; the garrison of which had just made a sally, which induced O'Donnel to spike some of his guns and destroy his magazine, and which would probably have led to ill consequences, if Carlos d'España had not opportunely arrived with his division to check the enemy : a movement for this object took place in the night of the twenty-sixth ; and just as dispositions had been made to receive the French, lord Wellington arrived : Picton immediately acquainted him with his proceedings and arrangements, which the British field-marshal intirely approved ; nor did he consider it necessary to make any alteration,¹⁰ as he had already, in his journey from the left, issued orders for other corps to move to the point of conflict : but the resounding cheers with which he was received by the troops, not only within hearing of Soult, but so near to that warrior

¹⁰ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 221.

that his features could be discerned by his great antagonist, had the effect of putting off all attacks that day, and thus gave time for the British reinforcements to come up. Early on the twenty-eighth the sixth division under Pack arrived, and had scarcely taken a situation on some heights to the left of the fourth, when a fierce assault on this very point was made by a large force, which was received with so destructive a fire in front and flank, that it retired; and the assault was then directed against a height occupied by the left of our fourth division, and defended by a Portuguese regiment of *caçadores*: the impetuosity of the enemy's troops gained them possession of the hill; but a spirited charge by general Ross's brigade made it a brief tenure.

The firing then opened along the whole line, while the French advanced with loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and an apparent determination to conquer; but they were young conscripts, unequal to a conflict with Wellington's veterans, who had driven the old soldiers of the empire out of the peninsula: these now, in their pride of strength and confidence, waited until the French were within a few yards of their bayonets: a deadly volley was then poured into the advancing column; a charge followed; and the enemy were driven headlong down the heights, leaving the ground strewn with dead and dying men.

Next day the allies were reinforced by our seventh division, under lord Dalhousie, which secured the connection of their left with Hill; when Soult moved his main body by its right, so as to unite his forces with those of Drouet; endeavoring to mask his intentions by keeping a strong force in front of Wellington's centre. His object was to open a communication between Tolosa and Pampeluna; which would enable him to attack our left; and, if successful, to relieve St. Sebastian, or oblige the British to fight on ground of his selection: but Wellington, though he now had to contend with a master in the art of war, was not overmatched: at once penetrating the designs of his antagonist, and adopting means for defeating them, he resolved to dislodge him from his position in front; to effect which, Picton was directed to cross the ridge which the French troops had abandoned, and to turn their left flank by the Roncesvalles road; while lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, should scale a mountain opposite the left of the fourth, and turn their right. Both these movements were eminently successful: the centre of the allied forces then pushed forward in a firm, irresistible phalanx; and the enemy

abandoned a position, which lord Wellington described 'as one of the strongest and most difficult of access that he had ever seen occupied by troops.'

Soult now commenced a retreat, closely followed by his adversaries: but conducting it in a manner corresponding with his great character for military talent. Extricating his army by the pass of Donna Maria, he there attempted to check the allies; but lord Dalhousie and Hill, ascending the mountains on each side, compelled him to continue his retreat hastily across the Bidassoa: he did not, however, pass that river without a severe contest and great loss: nor was it among the least galling circumstances of this his retreat, that the Spanish troops several times charged his columns with the bayonet, broke them, and drove them precipitately across the stream: the French, like the soldiers of Pyrrhus, had at length taught their despised foes to conquer them.

The battle of Vittoria delivered the province of Valencia, as that of Salamanca had freed Andalusia, from the French yoke. Suchet, leaving 1200 men and stores for twelve months in Murviedro, as well as garrisons in Peniscola and other fortresses, retired on Arragon, hoping to effect a junction with Clausel, who was near Saragossa with 14,000 men: this was what Wellington apprehended; and this was an additional obstacle to an immediate attack on Pampeluna: Clausel, however, without informing Suchet of his movements, retired into France, by way of Jaca; from a desire, as the Spaniards gave out, of securing the riches which he had amassed. Saragossa then fell to the Spanish chiefs who assembled round its walls: Suchet, in advancing to its relief, drew off as many garrisons as he could: and, after a vain attempt to maintain the line of the Lower Ebro, determined to move on Tarragona.

When Arragon was thus delivered from its foes, the blockade of Pampeluna could be safely left to Spaniards, while Graham carried 10,000 troops to the siege of St. Sebastian. Few places present a more formidable appearance than this: the only approach by land is over a low sandy isthmus, occupied by one front of fortification; and this narrow road is commanded by the castle: but on the left flank there are considerable sand hills, about 600 or 700 yards distant, which enfilade and take in reverse the front defences: those which cross the isthmus are a single line of fortification, exceeding 350 yards in length, with a flat bastion in the centre, covered by a horn work, having the usual counterscarp, covered way, and glacis; but others which run lengthways consist only of a

single line, the water beneath being thought to render them inaccessible: the northern line is quite exposed to the sand hills; and the Urumea, which washes the town on that side, is fordable at low water, the tide receding so much that a large space is left dry, over which troops can march to the very foot of the wall: yet that wall had been left uncovered ever since marshal Berwick had effected a breach there in 1719, by which he took the city.¹¹ Into this place Jourdan had thrown a considerable force, under general Emanuel Rey, who escorted the convoy which quitted Vittoria the day before the battle: by this influx of families the town doubled its usual population of 8000; but Rey, urged by necessity, obliged all persons, not residents, to depart into France. On the twenty-seventh of June, general Foy, while retreating before Graham, also threw a reinforcement into the place; and on the first of July 300 more troops were brought by the infamous governor of Guetaria, who, when he abandoned that place, left a lighted train secretly, which blew up the magazine, with numbers of the inhabitants, after the battle of Vittoria; moreover, every exertion which art and courage could make was made by its intrepid garrison: the first great operation of the besiegers was to attack a strong advanced post, in the convent of St. Bartolomé; but after 2500 shot and 450 shells had been fired, it was found necessary to dislodge the enemy with the bayonet; and the victorious party, pursuing the flying garrison to the foot of the glacis, suffered severely on its return. A fire from the town was kept up against this post for twenty-four hours; and the dead which strewed the intermediate ground lay there, unburied, during the siege, so jealous was each party of an approach to their works: during the night, two batteries were erected to take the defences of the city in reverse; a difficult work in loose sand, where the enemy's fire was so sharp and precise that four sentinels were killed successively through one loop-hole: the only eminence whence artillery could be brought to bear directly on the town, though still about 100 feet below it, was above the convent, and almost adjoining its walls: here a battery was erected; the covered way to it passed through the convent, and the battery itself was constructed in a burial-ground: a more ghastly scene can seldom have occurred in war; for coffins and corpses in all stages of decay were exposed, when the soil was thrown up against the fire from the town, and

¹¹ Southey's *Peninsular War*, vol. iii. p. 666.

were actually used in the defences : so that when a shell burst there, it brought down the living and the dead together. As one of our officers¹² was giving his orders, a shot struck the edge of the trenches above him, and two coffins slipped down upon him with the sand : these broke in their fall ; the bodies rolled with him to some distance ; and when he recovered, he saw that they had been women of some rank ; being richly attired in black velvet, while their long hair hung about their shoulders and livid faces. Our soldiers, in the scarcity of firewood, being nothing nice, broke up coffins for fuel to dress their food, leaving the bodies exposed ; and, till the hot sun had dried up these poor insulted remains of humanity, the stench was dreadful as the sight.

On the twentieth of July all our batteries were opened ; a redoubt was abandoned by the enemy ; and next day a summons was sent, but not received : meantime, in cutting a parallel across the isthmus, the men came to a subterranean channel, four feet high and three wide, in which was a pipe to carry water to the city. Lieutenant Reid of the engineers, a young and zealous officer, having ventured to explore it, found it closed at the end of 230 yards, by a door in the counterscarp of the hornwork ; and there a mine, consisting of thirty barrels of gunpowder, was securely laid, while eight feet of the drain were closely stopped by sand, to aid its force by compression. The service in our breaching batteries was dreadfully severe, but greatly assisted by the heroic efforts of some British seamen : by noon, on the twenty-second, a breach 600 feet in length appeared practicable, but delay unfortunately took place ; and it was thought advisable to form a second and a third ; which were effected before the night of the twenty-fourth, when 2000 men of the fifth division filed into the trenches on the isthmus : at the same time, many parts of the town were discovered to be in flames ; and the frequent crash of houses was mingled with the roar of artillery. Still great delay and confusion occurred : orders were given and countermanded ; arrangements were not made known to a sufficient number of officers ; and the attack was ordered at a wrong time : the French, also, being prepared for the event, brought

¹² The officer to whom this accident occurred, and who communicated these details to Mr. Southey, was known to the author as a clergyman ; and long exerted himself, like many other of our peninsular heroes, as zealously in his clerical, as he did formerly in his military duties.

every gun looking in the direction of our attack to bear on it; and 'from all around the breach, its assailants were flanked and enfiladed with a destructive fire of grape and musketry: blazing planks and beams were thrown transversely across the walls and breach; while stones, shot, shells, and handgrenades were showered on the allies with dreadful effect.'¹³ As the storming columns were moving out of the trenches, the mine in the aqueduct being sprung, brought down such a length of the counterscarp and glacis of the hornwork, that the astounded enemy abandoned the flanking parapet: but when a brave corps of Portuguese rushed to take advantage of this occurrence, no scaling ladders were to be found; the volumes of flame and smoke which issued from the burning houses made the stoutest hearts to quail, and nearly the whole party were miserably slain before the order for recalling them arrived. Major Frazer was killed in the flaming ruins; but the intrepid lieutenant Jones, of the engineers, with a small party of the first royals, stood for a short time on the top of the great breach; and troops were rushing up, when the enemy sprung a mine at one place, and drew the supports from a false bridge at another; blowing up some of the assailants, and precipitating others on spikes below: the rest at the foot of the breach were now panic-struck, and ran back; the destination of another column, coming up in their rear, was altered; and the sun, when he arose, disclosed a loss of 44 officers of the line and five of the engineers, with the talented sir R. Fletcher, constructor of the lines of Torres Vedras; also above 500 men were sacrificed to the inexperience of the brave Graham in conducting sieges. At this period occurred one of those adventures which so curiously diversify the picture of war. Lieutenant (afterwards colonel) Jones, whom we left with a few more heroic soldiers standing on the breach, was soon struck down, with the rest, and left there by the retreating column at its repulse: being at first stunned, he was roused by the exclamation of a soldier lying next to him—'Oh, they are murdering us all!' On looking up, he says, I perceived a number of French grenadiers, under a heavy fire of grape, sword in hand, stepping over the dead, and *stabbing the wounded*: my companion was treated in this manner; and the sword withdrawn from his body, and reeking with his blood, was raised to give me the *coup de grace*, when fortunately the uplifted arm was arrested by a smart little man, a sergeant, probably mistaking my rank from

¹³ Southey, vol. iii. p. 674.

seeing a gay gold epaulette on a blue uniform, who cried out, '*oh! mon colonel, êtes-vous blessé?*' and immediately ordered some of his men to remove me into the town. They accordingly raised me in their arms and carried me up the breach to the ramparts of the right flanking tower: here we were stopped by a captain of grenadiers, who asked some questions, kissed me, and desired the party to proceed to the hospital. On passing the embrasure of the high curtain, we were exposed to a very sharp musketry fire from the trenches; and there it was that we met the governor and his staff, in full-dress uniforms, hurrying to the breach. He asked if I was badly wounded, and directed that proper care should be taken of me.'¹⁴ Wellington repaired immediately to St. Sebastian, with a determination to complete the second breach, and renew the attack; but our ammunition was running low; and Soult's movements in the Pyrenees being reported to him, his attention was recalled to that quarter; accordingly, he withdrew the guns from the batteries, and converted the siege into a blockade: so improperly, however, was this operation conducted, that the vigilant enemy made a sortie, captured nearly 300 of the allies in the trenches, and carried them prisoners into the town: but Soult's defeat was now known, and Graham only awaited the arrival of fresh artillery and stores from England, to renew the siege. These, with considerable reinforcements for our army, were landed at Passages on the eighteenth; 'for now,' as Southey observes, 'the British government had caught the spirit of its victorious general, and was no longer limited by parsimonious impolicy.'

The garrison, however, had spent their time well within the place; and everything, which art and ingenuity could devise for its defence, was effected: the siege recommenced on the twenty-fourth of August, and a detachment of British sailors was employed in erecting mortar batteries against the castle: they had a double allowance of grog, employing a fiddler at their own cost to cheer the hours of labor; and at every shell which fell within the fortress, three huzzas were given, with a grand flourish of the violin.

The breaching batteries opened on the twenty-sixth: next night, a sortie was attempted, but without success; and on that of the twenty-ninth, our men made a false attack, with a hope of inducing the enemy to spring their mines; but the

¹⁴ The narrative whence this account is taken, and which is one of the most interesting ever penned, may be found in Maxwell's *Peninsular Sketches*, vol. ii.

latter were too wary. Preparations now commenced for an assault, and men were invited to volunteer; 'such,' it was said, 'as knew how to show other troops the way to mount a breach;' and when this was communicated to the fourth division, which was to furnish 400 men, the whole moved forward. The conduct of the attack was confided to sir James Leith, who had just arrived from England; and as the breaches appeared practicable, the assault was ordered for eleven o'clock on the thirty-first, the time of low water; when sir James, accompanied by the chief engineer, took his station on the open beach, about thirty yards before the *débouches* from the trenches, in order to set an example to his men, and to direct their movements. The garrison were, as before, on the alert; and the forlorn hope, consisting of an officer and thirty men, fell to a man: the front of the columns which followed were cut off as by one shot; and the breach, when reached by its assailants, was covered with their dead bodies: as they ascended, such a concentrated fire was kept up as our most experienced officers had never witnessed; and the living, dead, and dying, rolled down the ruins as fast as they mounted toward the summit: in fact, nothing could be more fallacious than the external appearance of this breach, which was quite impracticable; and no man could outlive the attempt to pass it. Sir James Leith was in the act of sending directions for removing the dead and wounded men from the *débouches*, which were so choked up as to prevent the passage of the troops, when a plunging shot struck that gallant officer in its rebound, and laid him senseless; but he recovered his breath and recollection; and, refusing to quit the place, continued to give his orders. Sir Thomas Graham, in the mean time, accepted the offer of Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river, and assist in the assault; when a battalion under major Snodgrass, and a detachment under colonel M'Bean, crossed under a deadly fire, and took part in what the commander began to consider a desperate affair; and desperate it must have been, had not colonel Dickson, whose resources were inexhaustible, proposed to turn his artillery against the breach, and fire over the heads of its assailants: the proposal was instantly accepted, and executed with the utmost precision; our own troops were astonished at hearing the roar of cannon from behind them; but they saw with still greater surprise the enemy swept from the curtain, and the breach becoming more and more practicable: the first discharge brought down a few in our own ranks; but the second made the intent intelligible, and a

grand effort was then ordered to gain the high ridge at all hazards.

About this time a shell burst near to sir James Leith, and broke his left arm in two places: yet he continued to issue orders till he fainted from loss of blood; when major-general Hay succeeded to the command. Nothing now could withstand the fury of the assailants: the breach was passed under the most appalling circumstances; and, though a contest was still maintained from barricadoes in the streets, and from houses turned into fortresses, the enemy were driven into the castle, their last place of refuge; whence, however, they continued incessantly to fire, and to roll down shells into the town. The closing scene exhibits a dreadful picture of the horrors of war:— ‘About three in the afternoon, the day, which had been sultry, became unusually cold: the sky was overcast; and between the blackness of the sky, the rain, and the smoke, it was as dark as a dusky evening; but when darkness would, in its natural course, have closed, the town was in flames: a dreadful night of thunder, rain, and wind succeeded: and this was made far more dreadful by man than by the elements. It is no easy task for officers, after the heat of an assault, to restrain successful troops, who are under no moral restraint; and on this day so many officers had perished, that the men fancied themselves exempt from all control:’ in fact, they acted the part of demons in the shape of men;¹⁵ revenging, as at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the obstinate resistance of the garrison upon the poor unoffending inhabitants; who had most unwillingly seen their city occupied by the French, and had undergone dreadful sufferings and privations during the siege: in sacking the place, soldiers fired on their officers, who endeavoured to prevent their excesses; and if the enemy could have suspected the state of drunkenness, to which men, so excellent and brave in action,

¹⁵ ‘This storm (says colonel Napier) seemed to be the signal of hell for the perpetration of villany which would have shamed the most ferocious barbarians of antiquity. At Ciudad Rodrigo intoxication and plunder had been the principal object; at Badajos lust and murder were joined to rapine and drunkenness; but at San Sebastian, the direst, the most revolting *cruelty* was added to the catalogue of crimes. One atrocity, of which a girl of seventeen was the victim, staggers the mind by its enormous, incredible, indescribable barbarity.’ Surely disgrace must rest somewhere, for neglect in preventing such scenes of horror: but to what a train of reflections does it lead, that christian soldiers can be found perpetrating such atrocities; and christian people, in the exultation of victory, not reflecting on, or advertng to, their perpetration!

had reduced themselves, they might probably have retaken the town. The loss of the assailants amounted to nearly 1600 British, and 800 Portuguese killed or wounded : while 700 of the garrison were taken prisoners.

Preparations were now made to reduce the castle : batteries were erected on the works ; such houses as had escaped destruction were prepared for musketry : and on the eighth of September sixty pieces of ordnance opened their fire. On the third, some discussion had taken place about a surrender, but the terms were rejected : and a vertical fire of shells was continued day and night, though the British prisoners suffered from it equally with the garrison ; for the ferocious commander, irritated against his persevering foes, cruelly refused to let those unfortunate captives make trenches to cover themselves from our destructive projectiles : at length, when all the guns of the fortress were dismantled, and the defences utterly demolished, a white flag was displayed ; and on the tenth, the garrison marched out of the ruins as prisoners of war : the conduct and character of general Rey excited no pity for his misfortune ; but colonel St. Onary, commandant of the place, who had displayed much kindness toward his prisoners, and the brave captain Sugeon, who, on the day of the first assault, descended even into the breach to assist our wounded soldiers, were immediately sent to France : honored be the memory of such men !

In the mean time, the contest still continued in Catalonia, where lord William Bentinck invested Tarragona : but his forces were inferior, both in numbers and quality, to those of Suchet ; who raised the siege, but abandoned the place, after destroying the ramparts and artillery : he afterwards surprised the Anglo-Sicilian army at the pass of Ordal, and obliged it to retreat : at this period, the uneasy state of affairs in Sicily, and the ill success of political changes there, rendered it necessary for lord William to repair thither : the command of the army, therefore, devolved on sir William Clinton, who, with a very inadequate force, and under most discouraging circumstances, had not only to prevent Suchet from availing himself of his late success to withdraw his garrisons from Valencia ; but so to occupy the attention of that able commander, as to stop the succors which he might send to Soult. As soon as arrangements could be made for restoring the works at Tarragona, and supplying with provisions the Spaniards attached to his command, sir William fixed his head-quarters at Villafranca.

The Spanish government, justly designated by colonel Napier as having ' ever been tyrannical, faithless, mean, and equivocat-

ing to the lowest degree,' though it decreed honors and rewards to lord Wellington, creating him duke of Vittoria, after the great victory which liberated the peninsula, still manifested a want of frank and generous conduct toward himself as well as his country. In direct breach of contract, they had superseded Castaños in his command, and made various other changes, contrary to the British general's wishes and representations; which, if the war had continued in their country, might have led to serious consequences: infamous libels also were circulated, imputing the most sinister views to Great Britain, because some of its troops still remained in Cadiz and Carthagea; and no care was taken to counteract the injurious impression thus produced: but Wellington, having obtained the necessary orders from home, withdrew those troops as soon as their presence ceased to be requisite; and addressed, through his brother, a cutting remonstrance to the government which had allowed such calumnies to pass uncontradicted. A report that he was himself about to assume the Spanish sceptre, and which produced a vehement protest from the dukes of Ossuna, and Frias, the visconde de Gante, and other grandees, he treated with that silent contempt which it deserved.

A short period of inactivity followed Soult's retreat: Wellington not deeming it prudent to enter France, and leave the strongholds of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna occupied in his rear: while therefore those active measures just related were taken for reducing the former place, the latter was still vigorously blockaded: its surrender indeed appeared so certain and so near, that, on the seventh of October, our field-marshal determined to force the passage of the Bidassoa. Every precaution had been used to screen this movement; and the allied force, crossing in three columns, was not observed, till several of its leading regiments were half over the river: a brisk fire was then opened on them; the water was stained with their blood; and all who fell there perished: but our light troops pushed rapidly on; and, gaining the opposite bank, drove back the enemy; while the columns, forming as they landed, prepared to attack the French line ranged on the nearest hills: from these they were quickly driven: when Soult concentrated his army behind a strongly-fortified position on the Nivelle; where he resolved to make another stand against the advance of his pursuers.

The point occupied by the right of the allied army enabled it at once to rush down into the plains of France at the first favourable moment: the left had scarcely been placed in a

similar situation when that moment arrived ; for on the first of November a dispatch was received from the commander of the Spanish forces blockading Pampeluna, to announce its fall, after one of the most obstinate defences, by general Cassan, ever known in the annals of war ; and one also in which the miseries of the garrison were never surpassed : for they were reduced to live on rats and all such vermin, until these were accounted delicacies, unattainable except by the fortunate ; thousands could obtain nothing to support life but herbs growing under the city walls ; and numbers in ignorance gathered and eat hemlock which put an end to all their miseries. Napoleon was now encircled by toils : while British fleets swept the sea, the armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia were on the frontiers of the Rhine ; and Wellington was preparing to push his victorious forces, like another Hannibal, over the Pyrenean boundaries : but before he effected this grand movement, our commander-in-chief issued a proclamation full of judicious and salutary instructions for the conduct of his army in an enemy's country ; a document, as honorable to him as any victory. After reminding the allied troops, that their nations were at war with France, solely because her ruler would not allow them to be at peace ; he exhorted them not to forget, ' that the worst of evils suffered by the enemy in their profligate invasion were occasioned by their own irregularities and cruelties, authorised and encouraged by their chiefs, toward the unfortunate people : to avenge this conduct on the peaceable inhabitants of France would be unmanly ; unworthy of the nations to which the commander of the forces then addressed himself.'

Nor were these admonitions too soon delivered : already had the invading troops commenced a system of plunder and assassination ; and the commander-in-chief feared lest a general rising of the inhabitants might involve him in a contest like that which Napoleon had excited in Spain. With his British and Portuguese troops he had less trouble than with the Spaniards, instigated to ferocious acts not more by the memory of past injuries, than by letters from their countrymen, and the encouragement which they received from their own officers, particularly the ferocious Morillo, who afterwards proved so sanguinary a monster in South America. This ruffian having expressed doubts of the generalissimo's right to interfere with Spaniards, was fully answered ; and at length rendered a sullen obedience. Soon, however, excesses were again permitted : and the partizan warfare which ensued obliged Wellington to adopt a method of stopping it very characteristic of the man ; threat-

ening to send these Spanish generals at the head of their native troops against the French, while he, with his Anglo-Portuguese army, defended the frontiers behind them.

To force the passage of the Nivelle, and the strongly-intrenched posts on its bank, was the first step to be taken; and about three o'clock in the morning of the tenth of November the allied army was put into motion: a bright full moon lighted the mountain paths; our regiments mustered in silence; and each division, following its chief, moved down the different passes as quietly as such a host could move: it was hoped that the enemy might be taken unawares; but they were accustomed to fall into their ranks every morning at daybreak; and the advancing troops were received with a brisk cannonade from fortified redoubts in front. The divisions pressed on, almost in line; and the advantage of this simultaneous movement was evident; for the success of any one division, and its consequent advance, would threaten the rear of those fortified posts which still held out: in some instances, the defences were quickly deserted, whilst others were bravely defended; but the whole conduct of the enemy appeared more like a last effort of despair, than the struggle of valorous and excited men. Their main body was stationed behind, and to the left of the village of Sarre; but an attack of the third and seventh divisions drove them, with much loss, on the left of their centre; while our light division attacked their right; and the fourth, with a Spanish reserve, forced them to abandon almost all their redoubts: the defenders of one of these, however, continued to resist too long; so that the centre divisions of the allies actually closed on their rear, and the whole garrison of 600 men became prisoners of war: the French now fell back in disorder, hastening to cross the river and defend its bridges: one of these however was gained by our third and seventh divisions, and the army halted for the night; of which circumstance Soult took advantage to retreat on Bayonne: but he left fifty pieces of cannon, and 1500 prisoners, with a large quantity of ammunition and stores in the hands of his pursuers; carrying off even his veteran troops dispirited by defeat. After the passage of the Nivelle had been thus forced, the weather became so adverse to military operations, that the allied troops were placed in cantonments; with a line of defensive posts, to prevent any sudden incursion of the enemy: but on the ninth of December, they again took the field; and having crossed the Nive with a trifling loss, drove Soult into his intrenched camp, which had been in preparation since the battle of Vit-

toria. This position gave him every facility for masking his operations, and concentrating his main force against any point in his adversary's line: on the morning of the eleventh, therefore, when part of the British left wing were hewing wood to cook their rations, the French were observed cutting gaps in the different fences, for the passage of artillery; and almost instantaneously a furious attack commenced along the Bayonne road, where our piquets were driven on their supports, and a hill in front of Barrouillet became the scene of a sharp contest. As soon as this attack commenced, there was a general shout, 'To arms!' and the soldiers that were cutting wood in front of Barrouillet ran hastily toward the rear to accoutre themselves: the French, observing this, and imagining that their adversaries were struck with a panic, came on with loud cheers; but in a few minutes they found the whole left wing formed in perfect order, and were obliged to retreat before it: Soult then changed his plans, and with great secrecy prepared to attack the right wing and centre of his antagonist, thinking that he should take him unprepared; but he soon found that Wellington had divined his intentions. Advancing with an overwhelming force of 30,000 men, he directed them principally against the centre, where Hill commanded, and continued to command throughout the day with the most distinguished gallantry and skill: a severe contest was then kept up for some time; and the enemy even succeeded in gaining one of the heights occupied by the allies; but sir Rowland, perceiving at once that nearly all the opposing columns were concentrated in order to attack his centre, ordered up the troops on each flank to support it: these drove the enemy from their momentary conquest; the battle became general; and, towards evening, Soult was obliged to retire into his intrenchments with great loss, and with the mortifying conviction, that his troops could not contend with the allies; for, as it has been justly observed, 'he had repeatedly attacked with an army, and been repulsed by a division.' Nothing indeed could exceed his own skill, activity, and perseverance during the whole of this campaign; which fully merited the praises bestowed on it by the great master of the art of war, the exile of St. Helena; but he had met with antagonists who were to teach France and her marshals the frail tenure of human fame. The campaign of 1813 may be said now to have terminated; for Soult in his impregnable position could defy the allied army; and Wellington, too prudent to attempt to force it, placed his troops in cantonments, and awaited the result of those great movements

on the other side of France, to which the attention of all Europe was now drawn.

But the sound of British arms calls us far away over the Atlantic waves to the contemplation of scenes which never should have occurred. The Americans having again menaced the Detroit frontier with invasion, colonel Proctor, who commanded in that quarter, boldly marched to meet their advanced division in the depth of a Canadian winter: with a handful of British regulars and militia, aided by 500 Indians, he surprised the enemy's quarters on the river Raisin, and killed or captured the whole corps of 1100 men, with general Winchester, their commander. For the next irruption into this province, general Dearborn brought 2000 men; while Chauncey commanded a flotilla on Lake Ontario: their immediate object was the conquest of York, where major-general Sheaffe's force was insufficient for the purposes of defence: the American vessels approached so near as to make an impression on our batteries; and, while the troops were engaged, the explosion of a magazine, which destroyed or injured many on each side, seemed to produce a greater effect on the feelings of the British than of the American commander: the place was soon afterwards evacuated by the regulars, and the militia became prisoners of war; nor was this loss compensated by the success of a British party, which, crossing the St. Lawrence from Lower Canada, enforced the surrender of Ogdensburg. Colonel Proctor, after some months of constrained inaction, now undertook an expedition to the Miami; but as the Americans suspected his intention, they had so fortified a strong post near the river, that no batteries which he could erect had the power of dislodging them: he was, however, consoled for the want of complete success by an opportunity of gallant exertion: a sudden attack from about 1300 men, advancing to relieve the garrison, and aided by a sortie, threw his troops into some disorder, and gained a momentary possession of his batteries; but his efforts and exhortations, added to the example of his officers, rallied the wavering forces; and the enemy fled in confusion, leaving above 1000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British were assisted in this expedition by a body of 1200 Indians, who, after the victory, hastened into the woods with their spoils; and, as no solicitation could now restrain them from returning to their settlements, the colonel was compelled, by this desertion, to abandon farther operations: removing, therefore, his artillery from the batteries, under a brisk fire, he retired to his quarters on the Canadian frontier.

In another quarter, colonel Baynes and commodore Yeo were employed by sir George Prevost in a vain attempt to reduce a strong post at Sacket's harbor; where the republicans, instead of being surprised, were found prepared to resist an attack. It was necessary to force a narrow causeway, covered in many places with water; and when this point had been gained, they retreated to the fort, after destroying the neighboring store-houses and a frigate on the stocks; some enclosed barracks were set on fire by our advancing troops; but their commander very unaccountably ordered a retreat, when the enemy were themselves evacuating the place in a panic. A more spirited contest, for a fort on the Niagara, occurred between the troops of colonel Vincent and an American force, which landed near Fort George, and advanced to an assault, which was obstinately resisted, as long as the great inferiority of the British would allow. Seeing no chance of retaining his post, the colonel ordered all its materials of strength to be destroyed; and retreated in good order: but at the heights of Burlington, he was threatened with an attack by above 2000 men, whose intention he resolved to anticipate: advancing with a force scarcely exceeding 700 regular troops, he reached the enemy's camp, at Stony Creek, in the night, and commenced an assault, which terminated before daybreak in complete success. One of his detachments subsequently enforced the surrender of 500 men; who being assailed and thrown into disorder by a body of Indians, capitulated as soon as they observed the approach of his troops.

A desire of recovering Fort George, induced general Prevost to attack its outposts, in the hope of drawing the republicans into the field; but though their force, by his account, doubled the amount of his small army, they did not venture to accept the challenge. Commodore Yeo was equally forward in offering battle on Lake Ontario; but the enemy sacrificed two vessels to avoid a conflict: at another time, the opposing squadrons fought, with little advantage on either side; and in the sequel, six of our transports, filled with troops, were captured. On Lake Erie, a contest took place, in which each party asserted its superiority; but, as the Americans were decidedly victorious, it is but fair to give their account of the engagement.

On the tenth of September, the squadron under commodore Perry, lying at Put-in-bay, discovered the British making toward them at sunrise. Perry's force consisted of two twenty-gun brigs, with several small vessels; carrying, in all, fifty-four

guns, and about 600 men ; the opposing armament was superior in men and metal, being six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. At eleven o'clock, A.M., the British formed in line of battle ; but as the wind changed, the American commodore had an opportunity to bear down on them as he chose : at a few minutes past twelve the firing commenced ; and some damage was done to the *Lawrence*, in which Perry led his squadron, before he could bring the short guns to bear on his opponents : at length, he opened his battery, and stood the fire of his antagonists for two hours, though the other part of his fleet did not come to his assistance : the *Lawrence* now became unmanageable ; her decks were strewn with the dead ; and her guns were dismounted : at this moment, Perry conceived a bold and admirable design, which he no sooner conceived, than it was put into execution : giving the command of the *Lawrence* to lieutenant Yarnell, he jumped with his flag under his arm, into a boat, and amidst a shower of balls, made his way to the *Niagara*, the second ship of his squadron ; where his colors were seen flying from the mast-head of what comparatively was a fresh ship : it was a moment full of peril ; but the youthful hero was as calm as adventurous. Having quickly brought his vessel into a position to break the opposing line, he gave two ships a raking fire from his starboard guns ; poured a broadside into a schooner from his larboard tier ; and ran alongside the British commodore, whose battery he silenced in a short time by an unremitting fire. The smaller American vessels then came up, and decided the contest which had lasted nearly three hours ; all the British ships being taken, and carried to the American side of the lake. Never did a warrior, it is said, fight with a braver or more skilful foe ; for the commander of the British squadron was a man of no ordinary fame : he had gained laurels at the battle of Trafalgar, and other sea-fights, where Englishmen had bled, and won the victory ; but this day, his valor and experience did not avail him ; for he was forced to yield. The havoc was great on both sides : and captain Barclay lost his remaining hand in the fight ; the other had been shot off in some previous battle.

Perry's conduct in this engagement was certainly marked with skill, bravery, and perseverance ; nor was he less humane than brave ; taking especial care of the British wounded, as well as those of his own gallant crews ; and doing all that could be done to assuage the wounds and personal feelings of commodore Barclay, while he remained a prisoner. For this action, which had a great effect on the minds of his country-



Officer of the H. M. S. "Hector" 1843

men, he was made captain in the navy, and received the thanks of congress, with several other well-merited marks of distinction.

The foregoing disaster, added to the increasing strength of the enemy on the Detroit frontier, and a want of proper support, brought colonel Proctor to the brink of ruin; he had but 450 regular troops, beside a horde of Indians, under his command; and retreat therefore became an act of prudence, or rather of necessity. Being attacked, during his retrograde movement, by an immensely superior force, his small corps was defeated with the loss of half its numbers, before he could effect a junction with general Vincent at the head of Lake Ontario. In the progress of this war, Lower Canada was also menaced with a formidable invasion; and two general officers, with about 7000 troops each, concerted future movements against it. On both sides of the Chateauguay, cavalry and light troops were observed by the Canadians, advancing with alacrity; while heavy battalions followed, apparently with a resolute courage: but they displayed little of this quality in the conflicts which arose with small bodies of provincials; and were quickly put to flight. The other army, though it betrayed not the same pusillanimity, failed to obtain that success which its commander expected; and after the partial defeat of a strong detachment, did not long maintain its ground, but desisted from action, and followed the example of retreat: even the rigors of an inclement winter did not altogether suspend hostile operations; the inhabitants of the Niagara district having been plundered, and otherwise harassed, colonel Murray, advancing to Fort George, overawed the enemy into an abandonment of that fortress, without allowing them time to destroy the works: the same officer thence proceeded to Fort Niagara, which he took by assault, and rescued that part of the frontier from intrusion and outrage; but not before another expedition had been undertaken, by which about 2000 men were dislodged, after an obstinate resistance, from a strong position at Black Rock.

The success of the Americans last year, in single ships of superior force, had roused the indignation and spirit of British tars; who had been, by the force of circumstances, obliged to strike to foes whom they would have despised in equal combat; captain Broke of the Shannon, therefore, resolved to convince these boasting republicans, that they were not yet to claim pre-eminence on the ocean. He had been for some time cruising near the port of Boston, where the American frigate

Chesapeak then lay ; and, that the enemy might not be prevented from coming out by the apprehension of a superior force, he drew up alone, before the harbor, in a posture of defiance. Captain Laurance, like a brave officer, immediately accepted the challenge, and put to sea ; while crowds of inhabitants lined the beach to witness the approaching conflict, in full confidence of the result ; for the Chesapeak, in number and weight of guns, as well as in the number of her crew, had a considerable superiority over the Shannon. After an exchange of broadsides, the American frigate, which had come out with three flags flying, in full confidence of victory, closed so near, that the ships became locked together ; and captain Broke observing, at this critical moment, that his antagonist's men flinched from their guns, gave orders to board ; when he and his gallant associates rushed on the hostile deck, driving all before them with irresistible fury, until they had pulled down the American flag, and hoisted the British in its place : the firing from below soon ceased ; and the Chesapeak, after a short conflict of fifteen minutes, was on her course to Halifax, with her conqueror.

How little the honorable principles of warfare were regarded at this time by the republicans, was made manifest in their attempt to blow up the *Ramillies*, captain sir Thomas Hardy : to effect this horrible purpose two merchants of New York, in consequence of an offer made by government to give half the value of all British men-of-war so destroyed, fitted out a schooner, apparently laden with provisions and stores ; under which casks of gunpowder were deposited, with trains laid to a machine constructed on the principles of clockwork, and invented by the celebrated Fulton, who first applied the power of steam to navigation : this infernal vessel was placed in the way of our men-of-war, and was boarded, from the *Ramillies*, by Mr. Geddes, a master's mate, who, with his whole boat's crew, was blown up by the explosion ; when his valuable life, and that of ten British seamen, were sacrificed. A republican government may, indeed, contain within it individuals of the noblest principles : but when did anything honorable ever proceed from government itself under that detestable form ?

CHAPTER LV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1813.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Bill for allowing the militia to volunteer into the line—Loan, and subsidies to foreign powers, &c.—Foreign policy of ministers fully supported—Adjournment to March—Peace with Denmark—Defection of Murat—Allies prepare to cross the Rhine—Napoleon quits Paris—His contest with the allies till the latter approach the capital—Operations of sir Thomas Graham in the Netherlands—And of lord Wellington, to the retreat of Soult behind his intrenchments at Toulouse—Affairs at Paris to the abdication of Napoleon, &c.—Battle of Toulouse, and subsequent events in the south of France—Return of Ferdinand VII., and other sovereigns, to their countries—Lord William Bentinck's expedition to Genoa, &c.—Departure of Louis XVIII. from England, and his arrival in Paris—Treaty with the allies—Meeting of the British parliament; honors to lord Wellington, &c.—Visit of the allied sovereigns to England—Affairs relating to the princess of Wales and her daughter, &c.—State of Ireland—Meeting of parliament—Treaty with Holland—Congress of Vienna, &c.—Domestic circumstances—British parliament—American war; and peace concluded with the United States.

THE British parliament met on the fourth of November, under more auspicious circumstances than had occurred since the commencement of the revolutionary war. The prince declared in his speech, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices inconsistent with her honor and just pretensions, would ever be an obstacle to peace; and that he was ready to enter into discussion with the United States, on principles not opposed to the established maxims of public law, and the maritime rights of the British empire: on this occasion, some of those statesmen in both houses, who had been most decided in their opposition to government, acknowledged the wisdom, and rejoiced in the success, of that policy which they had formerly condemned; so that the addresses were carried without a division. After the treaties with Russia and Prussia had been laid before parliament, lord Castlereagh introduced a bill for allowing three-fourths of any militia regiment to volunteer for foreign service; and so desirable did

it appear to make every possible exertion for bringing the great contest to a speedy conclusion, that this bill passed through both houses without any opposition: the sanction of parliament was also obtained, without a dissentient voice, for a loan of £22,000,000; as well as for the aids granted to Sweden, Russia, and Austria, in direct subsidies, or in bills of credit. Two millions had been advanced to Spain, two to Portugal, and one to Sweden: the sum to be allowed for Russia and Prussia was estimated at £5,000,000; and the advance to Austria consisted of £1,000,000, together with 100,000 stand of arms, and military stores in proportion: men of all parties concurred in supporting the foreign policy of our cabinet; while many of its strongest opponents, particularly lord Holland and lord Grenville, expressed great approbation of the confidence which it had acquired: the desired grants having been procured, ministers proposed to relieve members from a long and constant attendance by an adjournment from December to March: this motion excited some debate, as involving a contemptuous treatment of parliament, whose services seemed only required for the convenience of pecuniary grants; and it was thought that many subjects which called for deliberation, might be discussed even in the absence of lord Castlereagh, whom the regent had deputed to the headquarters of the allies, in order to promote the interests of the grand confederacy: a majority, however, readily consented to this long suspension of public business: the great successes of the continental powers, who had now rescued their dominions from Napoleon's usurpation, excited strong hopes that a vigorous prosecution of hostilities would produce a safe and lasting peace; for which purpose it appeared necessary to provide new funds and settle new treaties of alliance; for these the interval proposed was requisite.

On the fourteenth of January, peace was re-established between Great Britain and Denmark; the former power engaging to restore all conquests, except Heligoland; and the latter agreeing to join the allies with 10,000 men, on receiving a British subsidy of £400,000; and to accept from Sweden Pomerania in lieu of Norway: the mortifications of Napoleon were also increased by the base defection of his brother-in-law, the king of Naples, who engaged to assist Austria with 30,000 men, while he opened his ports to the English. This was perhaps the blow which Napoleon felt most severely; for in addition to Murat's perfidy, it overthrew one of his most gigantic schemes; the object of which was, that while he

disputed the soil of France with its invaders, the king of Naples and Eugene Beauharnois should unite their forces in the rear of the allies, and march on Vienna: a considerable British force was now sent, under sir Thomas Graham, to create a diversion in Holland, where a successful insurrection in favor of the prince of Orange had broken out.

Since Bonaparte was considered as having rejected the equitable terms proposed by the confederated princes, they determined to try the issue of this contest in France itself: about 400,000 men therefore prepared to cross the Rhine, forming the army of the Netherlands under Bulow, the Silesian army under Blucher, and the grand army under prince Schwartzburg, which took a direction across the Upper Rhine, through Switzerland; and dearly did the French soon pay for the loss of that country's neutrality, which they had set the first example of breaking! In the mean time Napoleon was still in Paris, endeavoring to raise the nation *en masse*, with the desperation of a gamester who sets his last stake on the cast. Of his council he demanded '*men*'; not the miserable striplings who choked his hospitals with sick, and the roads with their carcasses: but he asked for what the exhausted country could not give. On the twenty-fifth of January, the allies had made such progress, that he thought it necessary to leave Paris, after entrusting the empress, whom he appointed regent, with her infant son, to the national guards of his capital. Advancing from Chalons, and anxious to prevent the junction of his enemies, the emperor threw himself between Schwartzburg and Blucher; but he directed his first blow against the latter, who happened to be at dinner in the castle of Brienne, the scene of Napoleon's early school-days: Blucher's outposts were driven in, but the battle was not decisive; for the French retained the town, though the junction took place which they had endeavored to prevent; so that Blucher and Schwartzburg engaged their antagonists, on the first of February, with a great superiority of force; Alexander and Frederick William being both present with their armies. Attacked along their whole line, it required all the efforts of the French generals to keep the young conscripts firm before such overwhelming masses: by a desperate Prussian charge, their centre was obliged to give way; but the wings, especially that under Gerard, nobly resisted and covered the retreat; which, however, was not effected without the loss of many prisoners and cannon. Such was the ominous commencement of this campaign.

Blucher was now eager to push on toward Paris; and being joined by two fresh divisions, he separated his army from the Austrians, tardy by nature as well as from policy. It was not the wish of Francis to annihilate the power of his son-in-law; and the dangers of battle were not the greatest to which the allies were exposed; for under the auspices of Austria, negotiations were opened at Chatillon, while Blucher persisted in advancing along the Marne: in these openings of accommodation, some new gleams of hope ever occurred to divert Napoleon from his forlorn condition, and lead him onward to his final ruin.

Their rash advance now inspired him with the plan of surprising and defeating the Prussians; which idea so possessed him, that he recalled a *carte blanche*, given to Caulincourt, when he was sent to the congress: abandoning therefore every thing for this object, he pursued the invader, defeated his centre at Champaubert, and his van at Montmirail: but Blucher redeemed the blunder he had committed, by the firmness and perseverance with which he carried off the remnant of his army before Napoleon, till the Austrian advance on the side of the Seine recalled his pursuer. Then took place the combat of Montereau, in which the Austrians were defeated and driven back on Barsur-aube; after which, negotiations were tried for the last time, and the fate of Europe was at stake: but the hand of Providence was again visible; for his late successes had so dazzled the emperor, that he would accede only to the terms offered at Frankfort, with the kingdom of Italy guaranteed to its present viceroy, and compensation to his own brothers: the congress of Chatillon therefore terminated in a closer union of the confederates; and a quadruple alliance was signed at Chaumont, on the first of March, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for twenty years; each power engaging to furnish 150,000 men for continuing the war, and not to enter into separate negotiations: England also promised a subsidy of £5,000,000 for the service of the current year; and a defensive convention was arranged: to remain in force after the existing war: thus provision was made for the future as well as for the present. Plenipotentiaries at this congress, were prince Metternich, von Hardenburg, von Nesselrode, and lord Castlereagh, the first British secretary of state for foreign affairs that had appeared in such circumstances on the continent. In the meantime, Blucher in retreat united his forces with those of the northern army, and fought the glorious battle of Laon; after which, he

pressed forward, and rejoined the grand army on the eighteenth: from this time the capital of France was the grand aim of all; and Napoleon himself, guided by his evil genius, facilitated their march. Resolving, after a battle at Arcis-sur-aube on the twentieth, to make one desperate effort to retrieve his fortune, he pushed between the two armies of the allies, that he might interrupt their communications, and fall on the rear of the Austrians: his intentions however were discovered by an intercepted letter, and a council was immediately called at the head-quarters of the sovereigns. It is certain that great alarm was exhibited at this meeting; and it has been stated, that the first proposal made, was to retreat: on which, lord Castlereagh observed, 'And what have we to fear if we advance?' this led to a discussion, the result of which was an immediate march toward the capital. Marmont and Mortier, being intercepted with their divisions, on their route to join the emperor, were driven back on Paris, whose citizens heard the storm of war approaching on the twenty-seventh of March.

But these were not the only disasters that thickened round Napoleon; for the adverse tide was now flowing on him from the south, where Bourdeaux had already hoisted the white flag of the Bourbons; but to arrive at that event we must revert to the glorious career of Wellington's army; previously, however, let us take the only opportunity that may offer itself of glancing at the operations of sir Thomas Graham's forces in the Netherlands. A Prussian corps, under Bulow, had been sent to the same quarter; and it was the particular wish of the two commanders to gain possession of Antwerp: to forward that object, the well-fortified village of Merxem was attacked, and gallantly carried; but when Graham proposed to take a nearer position, the Prussian general was ordered by his sovereign to join the grand army; and Antwerp was thus rescued from danger. After a month's inaction, of which his officers began to be very weary, sir Thomas, fated to diminish by sieges that glory which he had so nobly won in the field, resolved to employ a large portion of his troops against the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom; a scheme, from which no advantage could have arisen, even if it had been successful. To major-general Cooke was committed the chief direction of this enterprise: the right column, under major-general Skerret and brigadier Gore, advanced to the entrance of the harbor, which was fordable at low water: boldly moved along the rampart; and even forced a passage into the body of the

place: but a dangerous wound, received by one leader, and the lamented death of the other, threw the division into such disorder, that, after great loss, it was obliged to retreat: the central column, under colonel Morrice, being exposed for some time to a severe fire, gave way; but it returned to the attack with renewed spirit, and marched round to join the left, which, under the immediate conduct of Cooke himself, had reached the rampart, and occupied the neighboring houses. Desirous of ascertaining the progress or fate of the other columns, he sent a detachment of the guards toward the Antwerp gate; but these got so entangled, that they could neither proceed nor return; and all, who escaped destruction, were glad to surrender: farther loss was sustained during the night; and at daybreak, the men of a Scotch regiment, harassed by a cross fire, laid down their arms to save their lives. A slight advantage was gained over a party of the enemy, who defended one of the bastions; but this could not secure the object aimed at: all the troops, therefore, that were able to retreat, were sent back by their commander, who surrendered himself, with the rest, a prisoner of war: about 300 men lost their lives in this unfortunate and unnecessary enterprise. Both at Antwerp and at Bergen-op-Zoom the operations of our commander were supported by the duke of Clarence, in the *Jason* frigate; and his royal highness received a slight contusion from the bursting of a shell, whilst he was acting with sir Geo. Hoste of the engineers, like his friend Nelson, on shore. When he left the Scheldt, the duke took on board his ship the grand duchess of Oldenburg, sister of the Russian autocrat, and conveyed her to the British shores.

As soon as the weather became favorable, Wellington broke up his cantonments; being resolved to promote the object of the grand alliance, by penetrating as far as possible into the interior of France. Having first cleared the ground on his right flank, by driving the enemy to the eastward, and pushed forward his centre with a corresponding movement, he prepared with his left wing, under sir John Hope, to invest Bayonne; covered as it was by an intrenched camp, and designated at this period by Napoleon as one of the grand bulwarks of France. The greatest difficulty which the army had to surmount, was the passage of several rivers, behind which their antagonists successively ensconced themselves: the principal of these was the rapid Adour; which, with a strong force on its opposite bank, presented a very formidable obstacle. Our army now received supplies from the little harbor of St. Jean

de Luz, which was crowded with English shipping; and the fleet under admiral Penrose greatly aided operations: with the assistance of his hardy seamen and some able military artificers, major Todd threw a bridge of boats across the stream, at a spot where it was 270 yards in breadth; but even before this was finished, sir John Hope, taking advantage of the enemy's confidence, directed the first division to attempt a passage near the mouth of the Adour, by means of pontoons and boats of the country: about 600 of our guards, and some rocket companies, succeeded in their enterprise; for the French piquets took to flight; and before they recovered from their surprise, the party had established themselves on the opposite bank: towards evening, 1500 men were sent against this small force, being told that they were marching against Spaniards: but major-general Stopford made such an admirable disposition of his troops; and the rockets, which were at this time new to the French, created such terror, that the assailants precipitately retreated; and next day, the remainder of the division, being ferried over the river, prevented the enemy from interrupting our progress in forming the bridge: the result was a complete investment of Bayonne; and Soult, not deeming it necessary to remain, since the place was amply garrisoned, concentrated his forces on the right bank of the Gave de Pau, in a mountainous region, from St. Boes to Orthes. He had been reinforced by Clausel; and his position was very strong, though not precluding the probability of his expulsion: accordingly, during the night of the twenty-sixth of February, the fourth, sixth, seventh, and light divisions passed the Pau; and early next morning, lord Wellington, having reconnoitred his adversary's line, made dispositions for an attack on its centre and flanks. This was commenced by the left wing, under Beresford, against the right of the French at St. Boes; and when that village was taken, the field-marshal next proceeded to drive his foes from two commanding heights in the rear: but the only approach to this position was over a narrow ridge of land, between two deep ravines, exposed in its whole length to the range of the French guns: the passage indeed appeared insuperable; but the fourth division bravely attempted it, amidst a dreadful diagonal fire of artillery, to which their front and centre were equally exposed: inured as these men had been to victory, they could not imagine themselves defeated; so they still pressed on over a frightful train of slaughtered comrades; but a Portuguese brigade, after standing against the havoc some time, gave way, and fled:

the French pressed hard on the rear of those fugitives ; and nothing but the support of fresh troops from the light division could have prevented them from spreading confusion through one wing of the allied army : the battle now assumed a menacing aspect against our troops ; for the fourth division was bending beneath the fiery storm which assailed them, when it was again reserved for Picton, who commanded in the centre, to change the fortune of the day. 'At this moment,' says his biographer, 'when the issue of the contest was yet doubtful, he received orders from lord Wellington to advance against that part of the enemy's position between the right of his centre, where it rested on the left of his right wing : the attack was made with unparalleled energy and resolution : when the whole eleven regiments of the third division, being desperately engaged, drove the enemy from every height which they attempted to defend. This unexpected movement at once changed the front of battle : the French columns, opposing the advance of Beresford's corps, being alarmed for their flank and rear, now in turn gave way, while their artillery was partially withdrawn : the fourth division then rushed over the ground on which so many had fallen ; and the whole, deploying quickly into line, charged the heights, and drove the enemy before them with immense slaughter : the British artillery was now brought to some high ground near the right of the third division, from which they poured a destructive fire along the intire line of the French centre. This may be said to have concluded the battle ; for Soult, seeing his centre utterly discomfited, became apprehensive for his wings ; and, after another futile attempt to retrieve the day, abandoned the field.'¹

His retreat soon became a complete rout ; for Hill, having forced a passage of the river above the town of Orthes, was moving rapidly on the rear of his left, to cut off his communication with Sault de Navailles ; the only road, except that of Dax, which was practicable for artillery : this splendid success, almost as decisive as that of Vittoria, was followed by the desertion of large bodies of conscripts, who had been reluctantly forced into Soult's army ; especially those who belonged to the southern provinces, whose inhabitants were more peculiarly attached to the royal family. In the mean time, Soult had fallen back on St. Sever, destroying all the bridges in his rear ; but he was closely followed by the allies, who entered that

¹ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 280.

town on the first of March : sir Rowland Hill was then sent to dislodge a strong detachment from Aire ; which service he gallantly performed, and captured a large quantity of stores.

The French marshal now committed the error of supposing that lord Wellington would not advance toward Bourdeaux, and leave Bayonne unreduced in his rear ; but the British commander was well informed of the disaffection regarding Napoleon which existed in the former city ; and, as the duc d'Angoulême, who had lately arrived at St. Jean de Luz, had received a deputation of the inhabitants, professing sentiments of ardent loyalty, which they were only prevented from publicly displaying by the presence of a garrison, his lordship sent Beresford, with three divisions, to drive out the troops, and secure an uninterrupted entry for the duke. This measure succeeded ; the French garrison evacuated the place without resistance ; and the presumptive heir to the French throne entered amid the enthusiastic cheers of his countrymen.

Soult was now falling back on Toulouse, where the inhabitants would willingly have closed their gates against him, but were obliged to wait patiently the termination of passing events : while he hoped to form a junction with Suchet, who had brought 12,000 men from Spain with a similar intent, he imagined that Wellington would not dare to draw off his troops from Bourdeaux ; but he was again mistaken : no doubt was entertained respecting the loyalty of that city ; and his lordship recalled the whole, except one division under lord Dalhousie, which was left to check any sudden commotion from without. On the eighteenth of March the allied army recommenced its movements on each side of the Adour ; and next day, the Portuguese brigade of the third division drove a large body of the enemy from a position of great strength at the town of Vic Bigorre : next morning, sir Rowland Hill came up with the second division, and they marched together toward Tarbes, which formed the left point of a strong position taken up by the enemy, whose right extended in the direction of Rabastens. It was thought he would make a resolute stand on the heights of Tarbes ; but he was driven from them almost by the demonstration of an attack ; when the British, marching quickly through the town, were surprised to find the whole French force drawn up on some heights behind it : here then they bivouacked for the night, to allow all their troops to come up, and in full expectation of a general engagement next morning : but, as usual, Soult took advantage of the night,

and retired toward the intrenchments which had been diligently prepared in the vicinity of Toulouse.

In the mean time, the forces of the allied sovereigns were gathering round Paris. On the twenty-ninth of March, Marmont and Mortier, who had been driven back on that city, occupied Montmartre and the opposite heights with 150 pieces of cannon; and at six o'clock, on the thirtieth, were attacked by the confederated troops of Austria and Russia: the resistance made to these assailants did honor to the French soldiers, especially to the young pupils of the Polytechnic school, many of whom perished in this their first essay of arms: the allies, after five hours' fighting, were disconcerted, and Barclay de Tolly gave his troops a respite till he should be supported by Blucher's army, which had not yet been engaged: when that general came up, he took St. Denis, and made instant arrangements for the attack of Montmartre; but at this moment, Joseph Bonaparte, to whom the defence of the capital had been entrusted, authorised the two marshals to enter into a capitulation, and fled to join the empress and her son at Blois: on the morning of the thirty-first the troops of Marmont and Mortier marched out with all their military appurtenances, and the allied armies entered the capital of France: the emperor of Russia then issued a declaration respecting the intentions of himself and the other sovereigns; that they would treat no more with Napoleon, or his family; that they respected the integrity of France, as it existed under its legitimate kings; and that they would recognise and guarantee the constitution which France should adopt. On the first of April the senate assembled: Talleyrand was appointed president; and its first act was to nominate a provisional government of five persons, the president himself being at their head: a decree was then passed, declaring, 'that Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family; and that the French people and army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance.'

The fallen emperor had, in the mean time, retired with 50,000 men to Fontainebleau; where, on his arrival, he heard of Marmont's capitulation, and the senate's decree: he at first determined to march on Paris with his remaining forces; but being rendered sensible of the hopelessness of that measure, he saw the extent of his calamity, and consented to abdicate in favor of his son: accordingly, Ney and Macdonald, with the duke of Vicenza, went as plenipotentiaries for that purpose; and a conference ensued, at which Talleyrand was

present; but it was finally determined to restore the Bourbon dynasty. The two marshals then returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at night: Ney was the first to enter the emperor's apartment; and to the question, whether he had succeeded, replied,—‘In part, sire; but not with regard to the regency; it was too late for that: revolutions never give way: this has taken its course, and the senate will recognise the Bourbons.’ The marshal then proceeded to state, that the personal safety of the emperor and his family had been guaranteed; that he would be permitted to retire to the isle of Elba, which was to be possessed by him in full sovereignty; and that an annual stipend of 2,000,000 francs would be allowed for his expenditure: still Napoleon hesitated; and despatched both Ney and Macdonald again to Paris, to defend his interests and those of his family; but no other terms could be procured: Ney then sent in his adhesion to the provisional government; Macdonald returning alone to his fallen master: for he, according to de Bourrienne, ‘was one of those generous spirits, who may be most confidently relied on by those who have wronged them.’ He now presented the treaty to Napoleon, who, having read it without remark, signed, and returned it to the marshal:² they then embraced each other, with tears in their eyes; and Macdonald, having received from the emperor, as a parting memorial, the Turkish sabre which he wore at the battle of Mount Thabor, returned with the treaty to the capital: this was published on the eleventh of April, the same day on which the count d’Artois made his entry into Paris, to act as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, until Louis XVIII. should arrive from England, and accept a constitution prepared by the provisional government: in the mean time, the count concluded a convention with the allies, respecting the cessation of hostilities, and the evacuation of fortresses out of the ancient territory of France.

While these transactions were going on at Paris, Wellington and Soult, whom we left on opposite sides of the

² This document comprised:—1. A repetition of the renunciation, on the part of himself and heirs for ever, of all dominion and sovereignty over France, Italy, and all other countries. 2. A pension of 2,000,000 francs from the revenues of France. 3. Permission to maintain a body guard of 400 men. 4. For his wife and her descendants the sovereignty of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; she, as well as himself, retaining the imperial title. 5. In addition, an income was granted to the Bonaparte family, and to prince Eugene. Napoleon was immediately escorted to Elba, and arrived there May 4th.

Garonne, were engaged in a useless expenditure of blood and valor; for as the French marshal appeared determined to make a final stand before Toulouse, his antagonist resolved to attempt a passage of the river below that city at Grenade: a ponton bridge was accordingly thrown over it; and the third, with the fourth, sixth, and light divisions, were ordered to cross: the passage, however, was so tedious, especially for cavalry, that only a part of the allied army could effect it in the day; and during the night wind and rain caused so sudden a swell in the river, that the pontons were removed, to save them from destruction. The position of our army was then rather precarious; for a part under Wellington was on one side of the river, whilst a detachment under Picton occupied the other; and if Soult had taken advantage of this separation, he might have engaged about 17,000 men with his whole force; but by the eighth, all were united, and in safety.

On the tenth of April, day had scarcely broken when the columns of the allied army were moving to their different points of attack: the plan arranged was, that Beresford, who occupied the right bank of the Ers with the fourth and sixth divisions, should cross that river by the bridge of Croix d'Orode, gain possession of Mont Blanc, and march up the stream to turn the enemy's right: in the mean time, the Spanish corps under Freyre, supported by the British cavalry, was to attack the front; while sir Stapleton Cotton, with his cavalry, followed the marshal's movements: the third and light divisions, under Picton and baron Alten, with the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and draw their attention to that quarter; Hill doing the same on the suburb, to the left of the Garonne.³

The battle commenced on the left and centre of the allied position, in front of the heights occupied by the enemy. Beresford, with the fourth and sixth divisions, moving up the left bank of the Ers, carried the village of Mont Blanc, and then advanced steadily over the ground below the heights, exposed to a tremendous fire of artillery; while the Spaniards marched against the redoubts whence it proceeded: but in this they failed; though they advanced with great courage, till the fire became too appalling to be withstood: when they retreated hastily down the hill, pursued by the enemy. This

³ Lord Wellington's Dispatch.

was a critical moment; for if they had been driven across the Ers, the forces under Beresford would have been cut off: but Wellington, prepared for all emergencies, instantly ordered up the light division and Ponsonby's cavalry, to arrest their flight, and check their pursuers: Beresford, in the mean time, continued his advance; and, having led his columns up to the points of attack, brought them rapidly into line. Then came on a deadly struggle: the ground offered great protection to the enemy's sharp-shooters; while the direction of their artillery was so precise, that every shot mowed down files of the advancing troops; but no fire could appal those veterans: without flinching an instant, they pressed on, gained the summit, and gallantly carried a formidable redoubt on their right flank; but the French carried off their guns to a fortified line farther in the rear. Our divisions, having left their artillery in battery, now sent to hasten it up: but a more serious repulse was inflicted on the famous third or 'fighting division.' Picton had been directed to make a false attack on the bridge of Jumeaux; but heedless of an order distinctly given, and yielding to a rash impetuosity, he attempted to carry strong works over flat ground, exposed to a tremendous fire from batteries, which, when reached, could only be carried by escalade: his noble division therefore was driven back after a useless sacrifice of 400 officers and men; and the commander-in-chief was deprived of the intire services of a corps which he intended to keep in reserve. This movement of Picton is alleged by his biographer to have been generously made by him, after observing the retreat of the Spaniards, and supposing that our left wing under Beresford would be severely pressed.⁴ In the mean time, the battle burst forth with renewed fury on the left, after our light division had succeeded in arresting the Spaniards in their flight, and bringing them up again to the conflict: then Beresford, being joined by the artillery, boldly continued his advance along the ridge. As a considerable space intervened between his two divisions, Soult, in imitation of Napoleon's tactics, endeavored to crush the sixth, before the fourth could arrive to support it; but its brave commander, sir Henry Clinton, not waiting to be attacked, ordered his men to charge the assembling troops: they did so, with a fury that was not to be withstood; yet the French fought resolutely: they even checked the advance of their assailants, though they could not force them

⁴ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 308.

to desist: it was a contest of invincible courage against numbers; and numbers were unable to prevail.

The enemy at length fled, after suffering a dreadful carnage, and the fate of the day was decided; though a new order of battle was organised, and another grand effort was made by fresh troops, sent across the canal, to recover the lost ground; but the sixth division again conquered, and the heights were cleared by a combined charge of British and Spaniards: the enemy then retired over the canal, by its fortified bridges; and about four o'clock the battle ceased. Next day, the allied army was again under arms; when lord Wellington sent a flag of truce, calling on the French army to surrender as prisoners of war, to save the city from destruction; but Soult's reply was, 'that he would rather bury himself and his soldiers under its ruins:' knowing, however, that if he delayed much longer he would be unable to escape, he evacuated the place during the night of the twelfth, and took the road to Ville Franque: on the same evening, Wellington received official intelligence of the surrender of Paris: colonel Simon also arrived, charged by the provisional government to notify that occurrence to Soult, who is said to have received the information without any appearance of satisfaction; even refusing to acknowledge the authority by which the notification was sent. An armistice, however, was agreed on: the French marshal, like his brethren, soon afterwards hoisted the white cockade, and declared, in an order of the day, the adhesion of his army to 'the provisional government for the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of St. Louis and Henri Quatre.' Nor was it long before he and his companions had a fresh opportunity of exhibiting their conversion to the right cause; for the duc d'Angoulême visited the army amidst 'universal acclamations of joy, enthusiasm, and homage:' his reception by the troops was described as 'a spectacle at once martial and touching; tears flowed on all sides; while every heart flew to meet a prince deemed worthy to be a descendant of Henri the brave and good: in him they recognised the blood of their legitimate sovereign; and, marching before him, under the lilies of peace, they appeared as if they were celebrating a day of victory.' In the mean time, loyalty was not to go without its reward: the marshal was created chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and appointed to command the thirteenth military division.

Previously to this unnecessary effusion of blood at Toulouse, a similar occurrence had taken place at Bayonne, which was

blockaded by sir John Hope: the two messengers, in their way from Paris, arriving at Bourdeaux, sent information of the peace to that officer; but he did not communicate the intelligence to general Thouvenot, who commanded the garrison; scarcely imagining himself justified in doing so, till he should receive the intelligence direct from lord Wellington. In consequence of such delay, the enemy made a furious sortie during the night of the fourteenth; when nearly 2000 men of both sides fell within the trenches, and sir John was severely wounded and taken prisoner: this, however, was the last conflict in the sanguinary struggle, which had drawn the British leopards to the 'sacred territory of France.' The allied troops now went into cantonments, previously to their separation: but it was a hard lot for many of our gallant regiments, who had fought so nobly through the peninsular campaign, to be ordered far away from their beloved country and their anxious friends, for the purpose of taking part in a transatlantic war, unwisely provoked, and grievous in its consequences.⁵ Some short time before these events took place, Bonaparte, apparently making a merit of necessity, but secretly binding him by a treaty favorable to the imperial interests, had set free 'the beloved Ferdinand,' and sent him back a greater curse to Spain, even than his own iniquitous invasion. The council of state had issued a declaration, which was confirmed by the Cortes, objecting to his resumption of the regal dignity, without binding himself, by an oath, to observe the new constitution; while it prohibited the return of those Spaniards in his train, who had accepted offices and honors from the Bonaparte dynasty: trusting, however, to his authority and influence, Ferdinand disregarded these attempts to control him; and resolved to follow his own inclinations, or the advice of favorites: so he secretly entered his dominions by a different route from that which the regency had recommended; proceeding first to Saragossa, and thence to Valencia. In his journey toward this latter place, an incident occurred, highly characteristic of the state of parties; and which is thus described by the pen of Southey:—'On the way he was met by his uncle, Cardinal Bourbon, whom, as president of the regency, the Cortes had sent for that purpose, but with a strict injunction, that he was not to kiss the king's hand;

⁵ There is too much truth in the sentence with which colonel Napier finishes his admirable history of the peninsular campaigns. 'Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veteran's services.'

because they deemed any such mark of homage inconsistent with their dignity. Ferdinand had been apprised of this; and, as a first and easy trial of his strength, when the cardinal accosted him, he presented his hand, and commanded him to kiss it: the old prelate, who had weakly promised to obey the order of the Cortes which in his heart he disapproved, obeyed the king with better will than grace, after he had shown a wish to avoid the ceremony; but Ferdinand, having thus humbled him, turned his back on him in displeasure, and presently deprived him of his archbishopric.'

The Spanish generals were at first inclined to side with the Cortes against this royal traitor; but it is said by colonel Napier, that they were diverted from their purpose by the influence and authority of the duke of Wellington.⁶ Acknowledged therefore as 'absolute king' by an army of 40,000 men, under general Elio, a bigoted, weak, and wicked adviser, he issued two decrees; in which he intimated his intention of sacrificing the interests of those who had so long struggled in his cause, to the benefit of a party, now beginning to acquire great influence: this consisted principally of friends of the ancient system, slaves of superstition and deep-rooted prejudices, who had temporised during the residence of the royal family at Bayonne, and opposed the constitution which was adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by such counsellors, his majesty annulled every decree of the Cortes, and declared their supporters guilty of high treason: on his arrival at Madrid, he arrested many of the members of that body, with two of the regency, as well as the editors of several periodical journals, without specifying any acts of delinquency: many other arbitrary arrests, also, and imprisonments took place; while Ferdinand seemed determined to bring all things back to their old footing. Having restored the convents, he re-established the Inquisition, under certain modifications; and, while he ordained the restitution of estates belonging to the monastic orders, without any compensation for purchase or subsequent improvement, he concurred with the late assembly in withholding all confiscated lands or goods from supposed traitors: such conduct caused discontent in some quarters, and insurrections in others; but Ferdinand went on with severe measures, and concluded the year by making preparations against the colonies, among which was a compulsory loan on the merchants of Cadiz; passing sentence on state criminals; and rewarding loyalists. One solitary good action which he did, was the abolition of torture.

⁶ Vol. vi. p. 656.

Almost contemporaneously with Ferdinand, Pius VII. returned to Rome, and endeavored to tranquillise his states, by restoring the authority of the church, renewing the festivals, re-establishing the jesuits, and prohibiting meetings of free-masons, or of any other secret society : little did this mild and amiable man, conscientiously attached as he was to the dogmas of his church, and ignorant of their utter incompatibility with freedom and good government, foresee the mischief which he was thus instrumental in perpetuating : still less do they know the astounding evils of priestly domination, who have not witnessed them in the debased character of the Roman states. Shame upon civilized Europe, which restored this unhallowed union of tyranny and superstition, and still permits it to exist ! Italy also saw, but with no great satisfaction, the restoration of Victor Emanuel to his capital of Turin : gloomy, bigoted, and austere, he soon yielded himself to the intolerant spirit of the priesthood, and commenced a crusade against all liberal institutions : but connected with this sovereign is a transaction, which, though it reflects no lustre on British annals, must be inserted, in order to complete our account of those efforts for the destruction of Napoleon's power, in which this country took the lead. As soon as the French emperor's disasters opened a wider field for its exertion, our navy was again called into requisition ; and lord William Bentinck, embarking the British forces which had been long pent up in Sicily, set sail for the shores of Tuscany ; from which, after being joined by some native Sicilian and Calabrian troops, he proceeded to Genoa. A descent having been made at a short distance from the city, the ships and gun-boats moved along the coast, in concert with the army ; and, while our soldiers seized the advanced posts, the approach of a body of seamen and marines so intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned their batteries, and the whole sea-line without the walls : the forts which guarded the left were quickly taken by our auxiliaries, while the British troops attacked the right with success ; and, being thus enabled to reach the most assailable part of the works, prepared themselves for a bombardment of the 'superb city.' To avoid such a calamity, the inhabitants sent deputies to our general, requesting a suspension of arms for a few days, during which, a confirmation of the rumors of peace might be expected ; but lord William evaded the request by replying that it was incumbent on the French commander to abandon a city which he could not defend, while its besiegers were at liberty to push an advantage which fortune had placed within

their reach : the enemy then expressed an inclination to treat : and it was agreed that Genoa should be surrendered to the joint authority of the kings of Great Britain and Sicily, but that every article belonging to the French marine should be delivered up to the British. Beside a large quantity of stores, two ships of the line, with four smaller vessels, were found in the harbour ; and when possession was taken of the place, lord William, in the name of England, declared ‘ the Genoese nation restored to that ancient government, under which it had enjoyed liberty, prosperity, and independence ;’ the old constitution was accordingly re-established ; but not long to remain.

About the same time also, those ties which bound the ancient possessions of Venice in the Adriatic to Napoleon, were loosened or broken : the strongest of the Ionian islands, Corfu, with its impregnable capital, long held out against all solicitations ; but in June, its high-minded and brave governor, general Denzelot, hoisted the white flag, and surrendered the citadel to that power which was destined to become its future protector. On the coast of Epirus lay crouched the tiger of Albania, ready to seize the prey which might be left by his British allies : he made his first spring on Parga ; but was repelled by some troops which general Campbell had humanely sent from Zante, to secure the ill-fated inhabitants from his atrocious attempts : political chicanery however subsequently delivered up what military skill and bravery had preserved. The state of the Neapolitan realms on the opposite shore, was like that of the heaving ocean at the commencement of a storm : Murat, by his base defection from his brother-in-law, had averted for a time the blow that hung over his own devoted head ; but there was a great ferment even in his own states ; many, who had severely suffered under the restrictive system which he had been obliged to pursue, were muttering revenge ; and the still larger party of Ferdinand’s adherents were anxiously longing for the return of the old monarch, with all the ancient abuses and corruptions by which they expected to profit. On the Dalmatian coast, everything was secured for Austria ; which power had also taken advantage of the first opening, to push its legions over the northern Alps, and to fix a heavy yoke once more on the inhabitants of Lombardy.⁷

Just before the grand contest was decided at Paris, the

⁷ It is but justice to confess that this yoke has subsequently been much lightened : the disgrace of Austria now consists, not in persecuting her own subjects, but in acting as public executioner to the Roman pontiff.

British parliament renewed its deliberations ; for which it re-assembled on the twenty-first of March. The first business of importance in the commons, was a motion by the chancellor of the exchequer, for a grant of £2,000,000, on account of the army extraordinaries, in addition to £3,000,000 before voted : when the rupture of negotiations with Napoleon was announced by the regent, the confederated sovereigns were in possession of the French capital, though the event was not then known in England ; but as soon as this intelligence arrived, the enthusiastic joy which pervaded all ranks, both in the metropolis and in the country at large, was unbounded. The invitation of the French senate was readily accepted by the legitimate claimant of the crown, who had for many years resided as a private gentleman in this country : from his retirement at Hartwell-house, the seat of sir George Lee,⁸ in the county of Buckingham, Louis repaired to Stanmore ; where he was met, on the twentieth of April, by the prince regent, who cordially congratulated him on the happy change in his fortunes : from Stanmore, a long train of gentlemen on horseback, trumpeters, horse guards, and royal equipages, preceded the state carriage, in which sat the restored king, with the duchess d'Angoulême, and the prince regent of England, drawn by eight cream-colored horses ; the procession being closed by the magnificent regiments of cavalry which Great Britain still retained in her metropolis : the day was brilliant, and London sent out all its dense crowds to witness this interesting scene. The cavalcade having entered the park by Cumberland-gate, arrived a little before six o'clock in the evening at Grillon's hotel in Albemarle-street, amid the deafening cheers of the populace, and the waving of handkerchiefs by thousands of ladies from the windows : the French monarch then held a court, at which the Austrian, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese ambassadors, with a multitude of English and French nobility, were present ; when the prince regent gave utterance to an elegant and animated speech ; congratulating the king in his own name, and that of our nation, on his restoration to his throne. Louis, in a very feeling and expressive answer, acknowledged the uniform kindness with which he had been treated by his royal highness and every member of his illustrious family ; declaring, that he should always attribute, under Providence, the restoration of the house of Bourbon, and the re-establishment of a general

⁸ Now in possession of his descendant, John Lee, esq., LL.D., a gentleman of the most liberal and patriotic sentiments, and a great promoter of useful and scientific institutions.

peace, to the spirit and perseverance of the British cabinet, and the courage and perseverance of the British people : his majesty then, assisted by the prince de Condé and the duc de Bourbon, invested the regent with the highest order of France, taking the riband from his own shoulder, and the star from his breast, for that purpose ; expressing also his happiness, that his royal highness should be the first person on whom he had the honor of conferring it : next day these illustrious guests dined at Carlton-house, where a chapter of the order of the garter was held, and the French monarch invested with its insignia : at the same time the king conferred the order of St. Esprit on the duke of York. On the twenty-third, the royal family left London, amid the hearty cheers of its inhabitants ; and their passage through Kent resembled that of a triumphal procession : at Dover, they were again met by our regent ; and having embarked on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, under convoy of the duke of Clarence in the Jason, they passed the pier-head, with a salute from all the batteries : the prince, who had taken his station at the farthest point of the pier, cheered the vessel as she passed ; in which he was joined by a vast concourse of spectators, of all classes, who appeared deeply affected at this interesting scene. As the yacht neared her point of destination, she was saluted by the duke of Clarence's flag-ship, and the other vessels of the fleet : on her entering the harbour, a roar of artillery was heard, which continued for two hours, along the whole coast from Calais to Boulogne ; and on the twenty-fourth of April, Louis 'le Désiré,' set his foot on his own territory. He was received at Paris with sincere joy by some, but with hollow demonstrations of it by others ; and having rather granted than accepted a constitutional charter, he ascended the throne of his ancestors : one of his earliest acts was the ratification of a treaty with the allied powers, signed on the thirtieth of May, of which the following were the chief articles.

France preserved her integrity, according to her boundaries in January, 1792 ; with some additions on the eastern frontier, and in Savoy : as well as with the confirmed possession of Avignon. She recognised the independence, not only of the Netherlands, with their future aggrandisement ; but of all the German states, which were to be united by a federal league ; of Switzerland ; and of the Italian states. She recovered her colonies from England, including even Guadaloupe (to which Sweden laid claims), with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, the Isle of France and its dependencies : she engaged not to

fortify her places in the East Indies, and to keep no troops beyond those necessary for a police. Malta was to be retained by England. French Guiana was restored by Portugal, with an adjustment of boundaries: in all harbors evacuated by France the vessels of war and naval stores were to be divided, so that two-thirds should be assigned to that country. The allies magnanimously renounced every sum, for which their governments might have claims on France, for contracts, supplies, and loans of money: she engaged to pay similar demands of private persons; and also promised England to abolish the slave trade within five years. The negotiators were Talleyrand, on the part of France, on that of the allies, lord Castlereagh, Rasumovsky, Metternich, and von Hardenburg.

But while the foundation of the subverted system of European policy was laid afresh, it could not escape notice how much was wanting to complete its entire restoration: accordingly, the monarchs, united in peace as in war, resolved to effect this, if possible, at a congress to be held in the imperial city of Germany, before the close of the present year.

The proceedings of our own legislature, after the reduction of Paris, require no great length of detail. A bill introduced by Mr. Goulburn, to restrict the enjoyment of colonial offices by absent individuals, met with strong opposition from Mr. Creevey; because under pretence of enforcing occasional residence, it seemed to encourage the grant of places to undeserving persons, who were not disposed to perform the attendant duties; but it was passed by a large majority in each house.

Another bill introduced by the humane sir Samuel Romilly, for doing away with corruption of blood in cases of traitors and felons, was carried; but it was accompanied by an amendment emanating from Mr. Yorke, and purporting that such a relaxation of the law should not extend to high treason and murder.

The price of corn being at this time high, a measure, the object of which was to prohibit importation, excited much alarm, especially in the manufacturing and commercial districts: its promoters were accused of a design to sacrifice the trading to the landed interest, in order that country gentlemen might keep up high rents. On the fifth of May, sir Henry Parnell moved a resolution, for permitting, at all times, the exportation of grain from any part of the united kingdom: this being carried, a second was proposed for

regulating the importation of grain by a schedule, or sliding scale ; according to which, when the home price of wheat was on the average at sixty-three shillings per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should be liable to a duty of twenty-four shillings ; when the average price was eighty-six shillings, it should be imported duty free ; and at all intermediate prices, the same ratio should be preserved : a third resolution was also moved, respecting the warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation. A bill, founded on the first of these resolutions, was passed ; but, in consequence of numerous petitions against any alteration in the corn laws, all farther consideration of measures for regulating importation was postponed to another year.

The conduct of the speaker, who, in addressing the regent at the close of last session, had deviated from parliamentary rules, and overstepped the limit of his duty, excited strong animadversion ; for in noticing the proceedings of the session, he had insinuated, that the advocates of the catholic claims wished to introduce changes subversive of those laws, by which the throne, the parliament, and the government are made fundamentally protestant. Lord Morpeth declared, that it was contrary to usage for the speaker to refer to any motion or bill which had not received the assent of the house ; as it might thus become the vehicle of censorious remark, and lead to the irregular exercise of royal influence ; and he moved that a resolution to that effect should be adopted. Mr. Abbott endeavored to vindicate his conduct by several precedents ; but Mr. Whitbread justly denied the strict analogy of the cases cited, and moved a severe vote of censure on the speaker, for the violation of a solemn trust reposed in him : this, though supported by the eloquence of Mr. Plunkett, was evaded by the house ; which readily acquiesced in the opinion of Mr. Bankes, that there was no irregularity in recapitulating the principal objects which had engaged its attention.

The apparently harsh treatment of the Norwegians, whose territory was at this time in a transition state, occasioned animated debates in both houses : the eloquence of earl Grey was exerted in their favor ; and as a blockade of their ports had been ordered, he moved for an address, requesting the regent's interposition, to rescue that unhappy people from the alternative of famine or subjugation : the arguments adduced in vindication of the transfer were drawn, from a consideration of the war in which Denmark was engaged with Great Britain

and Sweden at the time of the treaty ; from a cession of the country made by the Danish king ; from the policy of arranging a better balance of power in northern Europe ; and from the well-founded expectation of a constitutional government under its new possessor : the motion was rejected by large majorities in both houses ; but an address proposed in the commons by Mr. Wilberforce, to engage the humanity of the allied powers in the abolition of the nefarious slave-trade, met with general assent ; and a similar resolution was, with equal unanimity, adopted by the peers.

In the midst of this session, the agreeable intelligence of pacific treaties concluded at Paris arrived ; and when lord Castlereagh presented himself for the first time after his return from the continent, he was received with loud acclamations from all parties in the house : but there was no limit to the enthusiasm excited by the presence of our great general, now raised to a dukedom, with a splendid, but well-merited provision settled on him by parliament. In addition to a former grant of £100,000, the chancellor of the exchequer moved a farther vote of £300,000, for the purchase of an estate for the duke of Wellington ; but at the suggestion of Messrs. Whitbread and Ponsonby, the two leading members of opposition, it was increased to £400,000 : the house of commons also conferred on his grace the unprecedented distinction of sending a deputation to offer him its thanks, as well as congratulations on his return to his own country ; and as the duke expressed a wish to acknowledge the compliment in person, the first of July was appointed for his reception.

On that day, his grace, dressed in a field-marshal's uniform, profusely decorated with orders, entered the house of commons, and was greeted by all the members rising uncovered, and enthusiastically cheering him. The duke then seated himself for a short time in a chair provided for the occasion, and in a brief, sententious speech, expressed his acknowledgements and gratitude to the commons of England : this was followed by loud applause ; when the speaker, taking off his hat, addressed their illustrious visitor in very animated and appropriate terms, commenting on his great and splendid actions : the duke then took his leave, bowing as he retired ; whilst all the members rose, as at his entrance, uncovered, and cheered him. A motion, made by lord Castlereagh, that the address of his grace, and the speaker's reply, be entered on the journals of the house, was carried by acclamation : grants and peerages were at the same time deservedly bestowed on the following dis-

tinguished officers ; sir Thomas Graham, sir William Beresford, sir Rowland Hill, sir John Hope, and sir Stapleton Cotton:⁹ but the absence of one name from this bright list created general dissatisfaction in the country. Where was Picton, the leader of the invincible legion, 'by whose sword the British troops were led to the victorious assault of Ciudad Rodrigo ; by whose daring hand the British standard was planted on the castle of Badajos ; whose battalions, when the usurper of the Spanish throne was driven to its last stand at Vittoria, filled the centre of that formidable line, before which the troops of France fled in dismay ; and by whose skill, prudence, and valor, exerted in a critical hour, the enemy was foiled in his desperate attempt to break through the barrier of the Pyrenees ?'¹⁰ The people of England, it was justly said, were more familiar with his name than with many of those who were exalted to honor ; but Picton could not deign to ask, and there were none to speak for him : his own spirited remark, when a friend questioned him on the subject of this omission, was characteristic of the man :—' If the coronet were lying on the crown of a breach, I should have as good a chance as any of them.'¹¹ As a solace for his disappointment, in missing that reward, which, by universal consent, he had nobly earned, he was now called on to receive the thanks of the house of commons for the seventh time ; and these were expressed by the speaker in terms commensurate with his high exploits.¹²

An additional source of joy and exultation was at this time opened to the people of England, in a visit paid to the prince regent by the allied sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. Having crossed the channel, under convoy of the fleet commanded by the duke of Clarence in the *Impregnable*, these illustrious personages landed at Dover ; where, as well as in the metropolis, they were received with acclamations, more sincere than those with which they had been greeted at Paris. The appearance of field-marshal Blucher at the gates of Carlton-house produced such a burst of public enthusiasm, that no efforts could preserve order : the populace rushed into

⁹ Respectively created lords Lynedoch, Beresford, Hill, Hopetoun and Niddry, and Combermere.

¹⁰ Address of the speaker to Picton in the house of commons.

¹¹ *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 323.

¹² He had been presented by the officers of his division with a magnificent service of plate, as a testimony of their regard and admiration.

the court-yard, and even thronged the hall; where they witnessed, with immense applause, the testimonial of regard offered to the general; on whose shoulder the regent fastened a blue riband, to which was hung a miniature portrait of himself, decorated with brilliants: on the following day was held a chapter of the garter, at which the emperor appeared as a knight, and the king of Prussia was admitted a member; the Austrian monarch being installed by proxy. The sovereigns were sumptuously entertained by the city of London; and in a visit to the university of Oxford, they were admitted, together with many other celebrated personages in their train, to honorary degrees. These public pageantries however subjected the prince to some embarrassment and pain: the queen had announced two drawing-rooms, at which the princess of Wales intimated her intention to be present; but her majesty, in reply, stated that her son, the regent, after mentioning the necessity of his own presence at court, desired it to be understood, 'that, for reasons, of which no one but himself could be the judge, he was determined not to meet the princess of Wales on any occasion, public or private.' Her royal highness, after a fruitless correspondence on this subject with the queen, addressed her complaints, through the speaker, to the house of commons; and the publication of these wretched quarrels, with the remarks to which they gave rise, subjected the prince to much popular insult, and consequent humiliation in the eyes of his illustrious visitors.¹³ Peace was proclaimed with its usual solemnities, on the twentieth of June, and celebrated by a grand military review, at which were present the three rulers of England, Russia, and Prussia, with many of the most distinguished statesmen and generals of the age: a naval review also, at Portsmouth, on the twenty-fourth, exhibited to these potentates the surpassing glory of Britain's bulwark: the fleet, consisting of vessels from the highest to the lowest class, formed a line of seven or eight miles in extent, opposite the Isle of Wight; these, after firing a general salute, slipped their cables, and got under sail with a brisk gale at N. E., the Royal Sovereign leading the van, accompanied by innumerable yachts and pleasure vessels of all descriptions, and presenting

¹³ Lord Eldon in his anecdote book observes, that the emperor of Russia was in a similar matrimonial predicament with our British prince; and that, on this occasion, when they were in a carriage together, one of the London mob put his head into the window, crying out,—'Where's your wife? where's your wife?' on which the regent is reported to have said,—'Emperor, *that's for you!*'

one of the grandest sights imaginable. Next morning the royal personages reviewed 7000 troops at Portsdown Hill, and breakfasted with the duke of Richmond at Goodwood; whence they proceeded to Petworth, the seat of lord Egremont, for dinner. On the twenty-sixth they arrived at Dover: and on the following morning the two sovereigns took leave of each other, and of the 'happy shore of England,' as the emperor Alexander emphatically designated it; adding also,—that 'it was the greatest country in the world.' As the yacht which conveyed our imperial guest, entered the road of Calais, the frigate which had conveyed thither the king of Prussia, came out with the duke of Wellington on board, who landed next morning at Dover, where he was conveyed to the hotel on the shoulders of the people, amid shouts of acclamation that rent the air.

When the merits of the treaty between this nation and France came to be discussed in the house of peers, a panegyrical address was offered for their assent, which received approbation from the earl of Liverpool: he congratulated their lordships on the conclusion of so desirable a treaty; preferable, he said, to any agreement that would have left the French in a state of weakness and humiliation, to inflame their high spirit: hence they had been favored with some extensions of boundary beyond the line which marked their frontier in the reign of Louis XVI.; and had also recovered their principal colonies: on the other hand, Great Britain had procured some valuable additions of territory; and had obtained that security which was the great object of the late severe and sanguinary contest: it was also, he added, a flattering consideration, that this country had not, as in some former wars, abandoned its allies; but, by negotiating in full concert with them, had conciliated their applause and gratitude. Lord Grenville expressed a wish that the slave-trade had not been prolonged by any express stipulation; but he trusted that the influence of the approaching congress would be effectually exerted to extinguish that disgraceful traffic: the address was carried without a dissentient voice. When a similar one was proposed in the lower house, Mr. Gooch ventured to remark, that the ultimate success of the war had resulted from a close adherence to the principles of Pitt; from which opinion sir John Newport and Mr. Baring begged leave to dissent: the former of whom denied that the war had been conducted on any fixed and unvarying system; since its grounds and pretences had frequently been changed: the latter even thought

that an erroneous policy pursued by the applauded statesman had principally contributed to produce that military monster, which the grand confederation had lately crushed: adverting to the terms of the treaty, he did not complain of a share in the Newfoundland fishery being restored to France; but he was disposed to think that we had been too liberal in our territorial concessions. Mr. Whitbread, while he reprehended the illiberality of those who affected to see wisdom only in the promoters of the war, and error in its opposers, candidly expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of ministers; who, after fairly trying the experiment of negotiation with the late ruler of France, and finding it impracticable, had resolutely pursued more vigorous measures: he even applauded their zeal for restoring the house of Bourbon, as it seemed to afford the best prospect of security to Europe.

About this time the increasing animosity between the prince and princess of Wales occasioned great agitation in the public mind: nothing had so much tended to render the regent unpopular, as his treatment of his wife, which from personal and unconquerable dislike had descended to persecution: but this unpopularity was now still farther increased by an opinion which prevailed respecting his harsh conduct toward their daughter, who had for some time resided, with a separate establishment, at Warwick-house: on the fourteenth of July, however, she received an unexpected visit from her father, and his command, to take up her abode at Carlton-house, where a retinue was already awaiting to attend her: in fact those friendly relations which the circumstances of Europe had established between Great Britain and Holland, as well as the high character which the prince of Orange had obtained, suggested the plan of a marriage between him and the princess; which had been maturely considered and arranged by the regent and his council: the particulars of the convention, with all its necessary guarantees, were drawn up, and communicated by the premier to the lord chancellor;¹⁴ but these sapient negotiators forgot to consult the principal personage concerned in the transaction; and she had a spirit which defied all those conventional forms of royal alliances which had been observed from time immemorial. At present, however, the only scheme with which she had become acquainted, was that which involved her immediate removal to the paternal roof; and which she was determined, if possible, to defeat. Accordingly,

¹⁴ Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 249.

having obtained leave to retire for a few minutes from her father's presence, who was accompanied on this occasion by the bishop of Salisbury, she secretly ran out of the house into the street; and, throwing herself into a hackney coach, proceeded to her mother's residence in Connaught-place: the princess, however, was not at home to receive her; and when the archbishop of Canterbury arrived, charged with a father's authority to bring his daughter back, he was refused admission: the duke of York and the lord chancellor were next despatched on the same errand; and after a long time spent in tears, remonstrances, and stipulations, the lady accompanied them to Carlton-house.¹⁵ This conduct of the young princess was referred by the public to the domestic quarrel of her parents: she took part with her mother in the dispute, and continued to see her, as it was understood, clandestinely, notwithstanding the restrictions of the privy council: it was also said, that her rejection of the hereditary prince of Orange, whether brought about by her mother's influence, or by the sudden attachment which she formed for her future husband, provoked the regent's displeasure; while it thwarted the measures of his government: thus she came to be regarded as the victim of the prince's hatred to his wife; and rumours were spread abroad of her being kept under close restraint, even to the prejudice of her health, which was very delicate. The duke of Sussex, having been denied access to his niece, addressed several questions on this subject to ministers, which lord Liverpool declined to answer; except by asserting, that the regent had an absolute right, as well as the best intentions, respecting his daughter; and that in the steps which he had taken, he had only consulted her happiness, dignity, and morals. At length, an end seemed to be approaching to this unhappy state of things: the house of commons, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, had increased the income of the princess of Wales to £50,000 per annum; the sum to which she would have been entitled if she had survived the prince: at her own request, however, this was reduced to £35,000; and she soon afterwards expressed

¹⁵ This interview, however, should be told in the chancellor's own words:—'When we arrived,' says his lordship, 'I informed her that a carriage was at the door, and we would attend her home: but home she would not go. She kicked and bounced; but would not go. Well, to do my office as gently as I could, I told her that I was sorry for it; for until she did go, she would be obliged to entertain us, as we would not leave her: so at last she accompanied us.'—*Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 253.

a wish of travelling on the continent ; in order, as she observed, that her absence might procure more liberty to her beloved child : the permission which she solicited was readily accorded ; and on the ninth of August, this ill-fated and ill-conducted woman left the shores of England.

While some of our national defenders were exalted to high and deserved honors, one, whose zeal and courage in the naval service had obtained great applause, was subjected to severe disgrace. Lord Cochrane, with seven others, had been tried on a charge of conspiracy for creating a fraudulent advance in the price of the funds, by circulating false intelligence respecting the defeat and death of Bonaparte : the scheme was carried into effect, with temporary success, on the eleventh of February ; and all the defendants having been found guilty, his lordship was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to be imprisoned twelve months, and to stand once in the pillory ! this latter part of the sentence, however, was properly remitted by the regent. On the fifth of July, the house of commons expelled lord Cochrane by a majority of one hundred and forty to forty-four ; though he strenuously asserted his ignorance of the whole plot ; while he was placed under great disadvantages, from the peculiar nature of the proceeding, and the conduct of his judge : the citizens of Westminster felt so convinced of his innocence, that they re-elected him, not only without opposition, but with every mark of triumph : his name, however, was struck from the list of knights of the Bath, and his banner broken. Our national income and expenditure were brought under consideration on the thirteenth of June. In July a bill sent up by the commons to suspend, until next session, the granting of offices in reversion (a similar one having passed in the preceding session), was thrown out of the house of lords, chiefly by the influence of the lord chancellor ; who expressed himself strenuously opposed to popular opinion in such matters. The same fate befell a bill sent up to the same place, for rendering the freehold estates of persons dying intestate, liable to their simple contract debts. ‘It was always,’ said the chancellor, ‘in a creditor’s power to stipulate for a bond, and then he would have his remedy against his debtor’s land ; it was better that he should be left to his own caution and discretion, than that he should set down in apathy, under a notion that the legislature would take care of his interests. The whole amount of the joint and separate charges for the year were stated at £67,517,478 for England, and £8,107,094 for Ireland ; making the total expense £75,624,572 ! to meet

these charges on the public revenue, the taxes and loans of the year, for England, would produce £67,708,545: the exports of the past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing period: the total amount of loan for 1814 was £24,000,000; being £18,500,000 for England, and of £5,500,000 for Ireland; and, from the terms on which this loan had been negotiated, it might be calculated, that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest on it of £4 12s. 1*d.* per cent. At the close of this statement, the usual resolutions were read and passed; after a remark from Mr. Ponsonby, that public interests required the property-tax to be abolished on the fifth of April ensuing: apprehensions, however, were entertained that this imposition might be renewed; and the inconclusive answers given by government to inquiries on the subject excited unpleasant sensations throughout the country: the city of London first came forward to petition parliament against its renewal; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be attended to, finally prevailed.

In Ireland, peace returned with scarcely any of its expected blessings: the popular mind in that country shared neither the exultation of victory, nor the tranquillity by which it is generally followed; and the Roman catholics, though their blood had flowed freely in the great contest just decided, saw in its conclusion little else but the rejection of their claims, and the continuance of their degradation. Lord Castlereagh, desirous of settling this vexatious question, had concerted a plan with cardinal Gonsalvi, through which it was possible that emancipation might be procured: in consequence, cardinal Quarantotti, a high functionary of the papal government, addressed a rescript to the Irish catholics, authorising and recommending the proposed measure: this consisted in allowing a *veto* to the British government in the appointment of bishops; but the catholics, by the persuasion of their priests, rejected it with indignation; when a renewal of the war of meetings, proclamations, and indictments, accompanied by numerous acts of lawless violence, soon ensued: on the eighth of July, therefore, Mr. Peel, chief secretary for Ireland, proposed to revive a clause of the insurrection act, by which two justices of the peace were empowered to summon an extraordinary session of seven magistrates in any disturbed county; on whose report the lord lieutenant might issue a proclamation, confining all persons in such district to their

houses, from sunset to sunrise, under penalty of transportation for seven years: other provisions also, sanctioning an employment of the military, domiciliary visits of magistrates, &c., were proposed; all of which, though warmly debated, received the sanction of our legislature; and parliament was prorogued on the thirtieth of July.

We must here briefly notice a treaty made between Great Britain and Holland on the thirteenth of August; by which the latter country gave up the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; receiving back Batavia, Surinam, Curacoa, and St. Eustace: a closer union between the two nations was contemplated, by means of a royal marriage; but the failure of that measure has been already alluded to.

The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia having made their solemn entry into Vienna, the congress was formally opened on the first of November: there were present, in person, at this august assembly, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg; the elector of Hesse; the grand duke of Baden; the dukes of Saxe Weimar, Brunswick, Nassau, Coburg; and several other princes. The principal ambassadors and ministers, were, from the pope, cardinal Gonsalvi; from Austria, prince Metternich; from Russia, prince Rasumovsky, with counts Stakelburg and Nesselrode; from Great Britain, lord Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington; from Prussia, prince Hardenburg and von Humboldt; from France, Talleyrand and Dalburg; from Spain, Don Labrador; from Portugal, counts Palmella and Lobo da Silveira; from the Netherlands and Nassau, Spoen and Gagern; from Denmark, Bernstorff; from Sweden, Lowenhielm; from Sardinia, St. Marsan; from Bavaria, baron Wrede and count Rechburg; from Wurtemberg, Winzingerode; from Hanover, counts Munster and Hardenburg; from Saxony, count Schulenburg, &c.

One of the first acts of this congress was to recognise a new regal title annexed to the British crown; that of elector of Hanover not being considered suitable to present circumstances, or to the sixth article of the treaty of Paris respecting the independence of the German states, and their federal union: a general diet therefore assembled in the Hanoverian capital on the fifteenth of December, under the duke of Cambridge, which agreed to the plan of a new constitution, founded on a representative system. In the same month, a protocol from the congress announced to the astounded Genoese, that their venerable republic, contrary to the condi-

tions on which it was occupied by a British force, would be incorporated with the territories of the king of Sardinia: lord Castlereagh expressed the regret of himself and brother ministers, at not being able to preserve to this city a separate existence, without a risk of weakening the system adopted for Italy, and compromising its safety: to this plea of state necessity the ancient republic was obliged to submit; and the wrongs of Corsica were now avenged: the fate of its old rival Venice was similar; and the whole of Lombardy, with its fine capital Milan, being subjected to the leaden yoke of Austria, was doomed to see its natural sources of prosperity drained by the exactions of an imperious master.

The winter in Great Britain this year was unusually severe; and in February the Thames being completely frozen, a fair was held during several days upon the ice: on the twelfth of the same month the Custom-house of London, with most of the adjoining warehouses, was destroyed by fire: much valuable property in papers, books, bonds, paintings, &c., being destroyed. On the seventh of July, a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout England for the restoration of peace, when the regent and the two houses of parliament went in solemn procession to St. Paul's; the hero of the peninsula walking on the right hand of the prince from the entrance of the cathedral to the choir, preceded by all the royal dukes: and on the first of August was celebrated a grand jubilee in London, to commemorate the same event, as well as the battle of the Nile, and the centenary of the accession of the house of Brunswick; at which time the people of the metropolis were entertained by a fair in the three parks; where fireworks on the grandest scale, with various other exhibitions, took place; and above all, the mimic show of a naval engagement on the Serpentine river: but almost every town and village had its appropriate festival; a banquet being given in booths, or temporary rooms, to the poorer classes, who were generally attended on by the higher orders. In October, a dreadful accident occurred at the brewhouse of Meux and Co., in Banbury-street, St. Giles's, where a vat, containing 3500 gallons of strong beer, burst, and inundated several streets, carrying away the walls of houses, and drowning eight persons: other vats were set running by the accident, and the company lost altogether between eight and nine thousand barrels of liquor: the hoop of the vat thus destroyed, was the least of twenty-two, and of about 700lbs. weight: the seven largest weighed nearly a ton each! This

year the trials took place of several degraded persons engaged in writing, publishing, or selling libels on the Holy Scriptures; the beginning, or rather the revival, of a pestilent scheme, which soon proceeded to greater lengths; but which has been effectually counteracted by the strenuous efforts of the clergy, assisted by respectable members of the laity: on the twenty-seventh of December, died the notorious impostor Joanna Southcott, who had long practised on the credulity of multitudes, giving herself out as a prophetess and the destined mother of the true Messiah: strange to say, a considerable number among our educated classes were numbered as her disciples; and some of the clergy themselves exhibited so lamentable an ignorance of Scripture, as to become the dupes of this impostor.

Parliament met again on the eighth of November; being opened by a speech from the prince regent, of which the leading topics were the congress at Vienna, and the pending negotiations at Ghent for the settlement of our differences with America. Adverting to supplies for the ensuing year, his royal highness regretted the necessity of so large an expenditure; and recommended due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might seem necessary for extending the trade of Great Britain, and securing her commercial advantages: the usual addresses were carried without any division; though some hostile allusions to the war with America provoked animadversion from lords Grenville and Darnley, who ascribed our losses on lake Champlain and the high seas to the inefficiency of the British admiralty: no act of peculiar importance was passed at this time; and after a sitting of three weeks, the houses adjourned to the ninth of February.

It only remains that we take a brief review of the contest which was still going on between Great Britain and the United States; and which, while the combined armies of Europe were marching to the proud city of Paris, was an object of secondary interest: it now began to assume a higher degree of importance. Several attempts at reconciliation were made, but in vain; since each country imputed to its adversary the origin of the war, and the responsibility of continuing it: after all, however, the chief cause and continuance of this unfortunate quarrel rested on a matter of punctilio. The limits of the right of blockade are fixed, by the law of nations, on grounds which authorise no serious dispute; and with regard to the impressment of seamen, America did not deny that Great Britain had a right to claim her own subjects;

while our government pretended to none for impressing any that were really American citizens: the whole dispute then regarded the means of asserting these rights; and if the ministers of both countries had sought for peace in a proper spirit, that blessing might surely have been obtained: such however unfortunately was not the case. On the seventh of January, the president communicated to congress copies of letters which had passed between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Monroe; in which the former proposed to appoint commissioners to treat about terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg; which proposal was accepted, and Gottenburg appointed as the place of meeting: the negotiations, however, which were removed to Ghent, did not commence till the following August; and then proceeded with little prospect of success, although the restoration of peace in Europe had removed the principal causes of difference: in one country, a strong hankering after Canada stimulated the zeal both of governors and people; in the other, an opportunity of employing its victorious veterans to punish those who had apparently taken advantage of its necessities, excited the passion of revenge: each party, however, was doomed to experience a signal disappointment.

Early in February, the American general Wilkinson, abandoning his position on the frontier of Lower Canada, moved his head-quarters to Burlington and Plattsburg, after partially destroying block-houses and barracks erected at a great expense; the demolition of which, with a quantity of stores, was completed by a pursuing British detachment: he subsequently attacked a post commanded by major Hancock; but was repulsed with considerable loss: the fort of Oswego, on lake Ontario, was reduced by sir James Yeo and general Drummond, early in May; an achievement, which was chiefly serviceable, by retarding the equipment of the enemy's armament on that water. The English commodore long blockaded Sackett's Harbor, in a vain hope of co-operation from general Prevost; but on the return of Chauncey his able opponent, with a superior force, he reluctantly retired to Kingston: the Americans then became assailants; and a formidable force under general Brown crossing the Niagara, compelled the garrison of Fort Erie to become prisoners of war: they then attacked our lines at Chippawa; and after a sharp action, in which their troops appeared to have improved both in courage and discipline, the British commander, general Riall, whose strength was much inferior, retreated on Fort George: this

officer, however, having been joined by general Drummond on the twenty-fifth of July, the enemy was in his turn defeated, and compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Fort Erie. About Midsummer, a numerous fleet arrived in the river St. Lawrence from Bourdeaux, with a large body of those soldiers, who, under Wellington, had raised the military reputation of their country to its highest pitch: but not until the third of September did sir George Prevost determine to enter the American territory; advancing cautiously with 12,000 excellent troops against Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, in conjunction with a flotilla under captain Downie: the defences of that place were no better than slight field works, still unfinished; the garrison consisted of about 4000 men, chiefly raw militia: but he was in vain urged to an immediate assault, alleging the necessity of naval co-operation. Captain Downie reached Plattsburg on the eleventh of September, and instantly commenced an attack, in full confidence that the land-works would be assailed at the same time; but his signals were not answered: that brave officer fell early in the action; while his squadron maintained the fight, till it was completely overpowered by the naval force of the enemy, combined with an incessant fire from the works; when the ships were either destroyed, or compelled to strike. Our commander-in-chief at length commenced his reluctant and long-delayed assault; but almost immediately withdrew, amid the loud reproaches of his troops, leaving behind him a vast quantity of stores; while his whole loss in killed and wounded did not exceed 200 men. This disaster closed the campaign, if so it could be called, in Lower Canada; when by the exertions of general Drummond, wholly unaided by the commander-in-chief, the Americans were finally compelled to evacuate Fort Erie, with the whole of the Niagara shore in Upper Canada: sir James Yeo did not hesitate to prefer a direct accusation against sir George Prevost, for neglect of duty and misconduct; in consequence of which he was recalled, but did not live to undergo a trial.

Military operations on the coasts of the southern states had hitherto been rather of a harassing and predatory kind, than directed to any important object; but it was now resolved to strike a blow in that quarter which might produce an influence on the state of the war. A large naval force, under vice-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a strong body of troops commanded by major-general Ross, was in the Chesapeake at the beginning of August, waiting for the arrival of rear-admiral Malcolm, with an expedition from Bermuda: the

junction having taken place, our admiral was informed by rear-admiral Cockburn, that the American commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent: of this circumstance therefore they determined to profit, by ascending the river, with a declared purpose of attacking Barney, while their real object was the city of Washington. On the nineteenth and twentieth of August, our army being landed, general Ross began his march toward the American capital; since the enemy's force for its protection had been ascertained to be such as would justify an attempt to take it by a *coup de main*: arriving, on the twenty-fourth, within five miles of the city, he found the republicans, in number about eight or nine thousand, strongly posted to dispute his advance: an attack was immediately ordered; and was made with so much impetuosity, that the enemy soon fled, totally dispersed; so that the British army reached Washington in the evening of the same day; and the work of destruction, though not the main object of the expedition, soon commenced. The public buildings committed to the flames, were the capitol, including the senate-house and house of representatives; the president's palace; the arsenal, dock-yard, treasury, war-office, rope-walks, and great bridge across the Potomac: a frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop of war in the dock-yard, were also consumed; but private property was respected, and strict discipline observed among the troops.¹⁶ On the following night a retreat com-

¹⁶ Much obloquy has been cast on the British army on account of this conflagration, which has been assimilated to the inroads of the most barbarous and savage tribes. Greatly as it is to be regretted, the chief blame of the action rests with the republicans themselves: it was not intended to attempt a permanent conquest; and as the general was aware that he could not establish himself long in an enemy's capital, his object was to lay it under contribution, and then withdraw quietly to the ships; and in this there was nothing derogatory to his own honor, or contrary to the laws of war. Such being the intention of general Ross, he halted his troops in a plain near Washington, while a flag of truce was sent in with the terms proposed: but whatever the proposal might have been, it was not heard; for the party bearing the flag had scarcely entered the street, when they were fired on from some windows, and the horse of the general, who himself accompanied them, was killed. After conduct so unjustifiable, all thoughts of accommodation were instantly cast aside: the troops advanced into the town; and having first put to the sword all who were found in the house whence the shots were fired, and reduced it to ashes, they proceeded to burn and destroy every thing in any way connected with the republican government.

menced ; and our army having met with no molestation on its return, was re-embarked on the thirtieth. Connected with this enterprise was the destruction of Fort Washington, on the Potomac, below the city ; which was effected on the twenty-seventh by captain Gordon, of the *Sea-horse* frigate, accompanied by other vessels ; and its fall left Alexandria, on the same river, without protection : that officer then advanced against the city, and placed his ships so as to force compliance with any terms he chose to offer. The conditions assented to were, that the town should be spared, with the exception of its public works ; and the inhabitants unmolested, on their giving up all naval and ordnance stores, as well as all ships, with their furniture and merchandise of every description : twenty-one of the vessels were fitted for sea, and loaded on the twenty-first ; when captain Gordon, having learned that preparations were making to oppose his return, quitted Alexandria, without waiting to destroy the stores which he could not carry away, and brought back his squadron and prizes safely to the Chesapeake.

The American president now issued a proclamation, in which he spoke of the devastation committed at Washington as a measure of extreme and barbarous severity ; declaring that the British naval commander on that station had avowed his purpose of destroying and laying waste such towns and districts on the coast as were assailable, under a pretext of retaliation for ravages committed in Upper Canada ; though none such had occurred but what had been shown to be unauthorised : he then called on all officers to be alert and vigilant in providing means of defence.

Admiral Cochrane and general Ross next concerted the plan of an attempt against Baltimore, one of the most considerable ports in the United States. On the twelfth of September our troops, having landed about eighteen miles from the city, advanced along a peninsula between two rivers ; and as their vanguard became engaged with the enemy's riflemen, covered by woods, general Ross received a mortal wound : he instantly sent for colonel Brooke, his second in command, to whom he gave some instructions ; and after recommending his wife and children to the protection of his country, calmly expired : nor have many fallen in battle more generally beloved for their private character, or more admired for their professional abilities.

The van now pressed on, driving the enemy's light troops forward, till it arrived within five miles of Baltimore ; where a

corps of 6000 men was descried, posted behind a palisade across the road: these were immediately attacked and dispersed with great loss; when our army halted for the night: advancing next day, it took a position about a mile and a half from the city; the hills surrounding which were occupied by a chain of palisaded redoubts and other works; defended, as it was said, by 15,000 men: an attack was, however, planned by the British commander; when a message arrived from the admiral, acquainting him that the harbor was closed in such a manner with sunken vessels, and defended by batteries, that it was impossible to bring up our ships to act as had been concerted: it was therefore the opinion of both officers, that the chance of success in farther operations was not adequate to the hazard of failure; and after the army, in its retreat, had halted for some time, to give the enemy an opportunity of coming up, which was declined, the troops were re-embarked.

Toward the end of this year a very important but disastrous expedition was sent to Louisiana, where it was expected that its capital, New Orleans, would be taken unprepared: it happened, however, not only that the secret transpired, but that the best soldier produced by America since the days of Washington, held the command in that district: he had already distinguished himself in repressing the atrocities of the Creek Indians, and in disconcerting the schemes of the Spaniards in West Florida, who were taking an active part in hostilities against their neighbors: early in the year, general Jackson,¹⁷ anticipating danger, had urged the surrounding states to make immediate preparations; and having secured Fort Mobile, as well as taken possession of Pensacola on his own responsibility, he arrived at New Orleans on the first of December: its population however was not easily excited to that degree of energy which the exigency of affairs demanded: and his principal dependence, to meet a large body of highly-disciplined British troops, was on the volunteers of Kentucky and Tennessee, whom he had summoned to his aid: but his first measure was to co-operate with commodore Patterson, who commanded a small naval force, in fortifying, as far as their means would allow, all approaches to the city. New Orleans, destined perhaps to be at some future period the greatest mart of the world, is situated on the eastern bank of that mighty 'father of rivers,' the Mississippi, about 104 miles from the Gulf of Mexico: though in itself unfortified, it is difficult to conceive

¹⁷ He was afterwards twice elected president of the United States.

a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader being built on a neck of land, confined on one side by the river, and on the other by impassable swamps: all the tract of country about the main stream of the Mississippi, to the distance of thirty miles at least from its mouth, is an impenetrable morass; while the channel itself is so defended by forts, as to avert every danger of invasion from that quarter: but to the east of the city, are the lakes of Pontchartrain and Borgne, connected with each other by a stream called the Iberville, the principal eastern outlet of the Mississippi. At this point, the British, under admiral sir A. Cochrane and general Keene, determined to make their attempt; since it was thought possible to effect a landing somewhere on the banks of Lake Borgne; and by a quick movement, to gain possession of the city before effectual means could be taken to secure it: with this view, our troops were removed into lighter vessels; and being conveyed by such gun-brigs as would float on its waters, began on the thirteenth of December to enter the lake: they had not however proceeded far, before it was seen that the Americans were acquainted with their intentions; five large cutters, carrying six heavy guns each, and built expressly to act on the lake, appeared at a distance; and these were to be captured before a landing could be thought of: as soon however as our cruisers made sail, the Americans ran quickly out of sight, leaving their pursuers fast aground: as it was necessary however to take them at all hazards, and as the lightest of our craft would not float where they sailed, many launches and ships' barges were got ready for that purpose.

This flotilla, commanded by captain Lockyer, a brave and skilful officer, consisted of fifty open boats, most of them armed with a carronade, and all manned with volunteers from our ships of war: as they approached the enemy under great disadvantages of wind and tide, they were greeted by a tremendous shower of balls, which sunk some, and disabled others; but the rest being pulled with great exertion, and occasionally returning the fire from their carronades, succeeded, after an hour's labor, in closing with their opponents: the marines then opened a destructive fire of musketry; while our seamen, sword in hand, sprang up the sides of the vessels, and sabring all that stood in their way, quickly pulled down the American ensign, and hoisted the British flag in its place. One cutter, bearing the commodore's broad pennant, was not so easily mastered; but against this, captain Lockyer had directed his own barge, and soon found himself alongside her

before any of his friends could come up to his support : undismayed however by these fearful odds, he led his gallant crew instantly on board the American ; when a desperate conflict ensued, in which he himself received several severe wounds ; but after fighting from bow to stern, the enemy were mastered ; and other boats coming up, the commodore also was taken.

All opposition in this quarter being overcome, our fleet again weighed anchor ; but ship after ship took the ground, until it became necessary to hoist our boats for the purpose of carrying the men : at this time too, a dreadful change of weather occurred ; and heavy rains, such as are known only in tropical climates, fell continually on the troops during ten hours, while they were confined in such straitened quarters. After rowing thirty miles, each division was landed on a small and swampy spot of earth, called Pine Island ; where it was determined to collect the forces, before their transportation to the main land : on that miserable desert they assembled without tents or huts, or any defence against the inclemency of the weather ; and even without fuel to supply their fires : in addition to these miseries, when night came on, and the heavy rain ceased, a severe frost set in, which congealing the wet clothes on their limbs, left scarcely any animal warmth in their bodies ; and many of the wretched negroes, who formed two regiments, and who were totally unacquainted with frost and cold, fell into a deep sleep, from which they never awoke. On the part of our navy, these hardships were more than doubled ; for night and day boats were pulling from or to the fleet ; and the twenty-first arrived, before all the troops were put on shore : as there was little time to inquire in the men's turns, many seamen were kept four or five days successively at the oar : here then commenced the hardships of this dreadful campaign, which probably have never been surpassed in the annals of warfare ; yet not a complaint or a murmur was heard ; and among all, from the general down to the lowest private, a confident anticipation of success prevailed : this as well as the prospect of an ample reward in the rich stores-houses of New Orleans, was kept up by American deserters, or spies ; who also entertained our men with false accounts of the alarm experienced by the citizens, and the absence of all means of defence.

On the twenty-second, before our troops crossed over to the main land, they were reviewed by general Keene, who formed three battalions of the fourth, eighty-fifth, and ninety-fifth

regiments, into an advanced guard under colonel Thornton; attached to which corps was a party of rocket-men, and two light three-pounders: the rest of the forces were arranged in two brigades; the first, under colonel Brooke; and the second, under colonel Hamilton: to each a certain proportion of rockets and artillery was allotted; while the dragoons attended on the general, until they should provide themselves with horses.

From Pine Island to that spot where prudence dictated a landing, the distance was still about eighty miles: the danger therefore of separating into divisions was great; but it could not be obviated: accordingly, the advanced brigade, of 1600 men, was embarked on the twenty-third; the boats being directed to a small creek, called the Bayo de Catalina, which runs up from Lake Pontchartrain, through an extensive morass about ten miles below New Orleans: during the whole time till night, rain fell incessantly; and was, as usual, succeeded by a sharp frost, which rendered the limbs of the men quite powerless: in this state they remained till midnight, when the boats cast anchor, and awnings could be erected: at the entrance of the creek was an enemy's piquet, all of whom were surprised fast asleep; so little did they dream of attack from this quarter: the boats then rowed to the head, and our men disembarked on a wild marsh, covered with rushes and tall reeds, where not a house or any vestige of human industry could be discovered: yet this spot, savage as it was, proved favorable to the party, whose motions it concealed; and hopes were entertained, that they would be suffered to remain quiet till joined by the other brigades. These anticipations, however, were soon found to be fallacious; the deserters, or more properly deceivers, assured our commander, that he had only to show himself, and the whole district would submit; for that there were not 5000 men in arms throughout the state, and of those only 1200 were regulars; while the whole were expecting his attack on the opposite side of the town: these arguments, added to the uncomfortable nature of his present position, induced the general to push forward; and after an advance of several hours, the troops approached a more cultivated region, where some orange groves and a few farm houses appeared: the inmates of these were secured as quickly and as secretly as possible; one man however contrived to effect his escape; after which all hope of concealment departed, and the column was directed to widen its files, in order to present as formidable a front as possible. After hastening for about a mile over a

narrow plain, bounded on the right by that extended marsh which they had lately quitted, and on the left by the mighty Mississippi, rushing rapidly in a stream about one hundred fathoms deep, and a mile in breadth, the whole detachment turned off into a green field, in which was a large house surrounded by about a score of slave huts; and at a little distance farther, another lone habitation, where general Keene fixed his head-quarters: noon had passed, when the word was given to halt; and here the troops were suffered to light fires, and pile their arms: this done, they cooked some provisions, which they had collected; and with the exception of a few slight alarms from small parties of horse, nothing occurred to disturb their tranquillity: when the shades of evening fell, the fires were made to blaze more brightly; supper was despatched; and the men prepared themselves for rest: but a little before eight o'clock, the attention of some was drawn to a large vessel which seemed to be stealing up the river, till she came opposite to the British station; when her anchor was dropped, and her sails were leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger: she was hailed; but no answer was returned: all idea of sleep however was now laid aside; and several musket shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken: until at length, all her sails being fastened, and her broadside swung toward our camp, a voice was distinctly heard, exclaiming, 'give them this for the honor of America:' the flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape-shot swept down numbers among the British troops: an incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced; for our people had no artillery, and the few rockets that were discharged, deviated so much from their object, as to afford only amusement for the enemy: under such circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave their fires, and shelter themselves under the dykes; where they lay, each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

The night was dark as pitch; the fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except during momentary flashes of the guns, when a straggling fire called attention toward our pickets, as if some still more dreadful scene was about to open: nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell, and a semicircular blaze of musketry, which showed that our position was surrounded by a superior force; and that no alternative remained but to surrender, or to drive back the

assailants: the first of these plans was instantly rejected; for our troops, rushing from their lurking places, and dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharges from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe, without the slightest attention to order, or the rules of disciplined warfare: the combat, which was left to individual valor and skill, lasted till three in the morning; and though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than 500 of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field: the rest then retired to their former hiding places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river; which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns, crowded with troops. In the cold dykes, however, our men were compelled to remain the whole ensuing day, without fire and without food; for whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire.

In the mean time, the remainder of our troops were disembarking in haste to rejoin their comrades; and as the schooner's guns were heard at the distance of at least twenty miles over the water, and in the silence of the night, the most strenuous exertions were made by the boats' crews: nor was a moment lost in returning to the island; so that the whole army was brought into position before night on the twenty-fourth; but our advanced brigade was still fettered to the bank, while another large ship cast anchor about a mile from their annoying foe: as soon, however, as darkness had set in, a change of position was effected, and the division was stationed in the village of huts: the front of the army being then covered by a strong chain of outposts, all remained quiet during the night: and next day general Keene was relieved from farther care and responsibility by the unexpected arrival of sir Edward Pakenham and general Gibbs; the former of whom had been despatched from England, to take the chief command, as soon as the death of general Ross was known. The arrival of Pakenham, adored as he was by the army, elicited the utmost enthusiasm; and he had scarcely reached the camp, before he proceeded to examine, with a soldier's eye, every point of attack or defence. Of the American army nothing could be seen but a corps of 500 mounted riflemen, hovering about the British front, and watching every motion: the city was not in sight; and no advance could be made, until the vessels on the river were disposed of: as delay was now dangerous, nine field-pieces, two howitzers, and a mortar, were brought down to the bank as soon as it became dark;

a battery was quickly thrown up against the schooner; and a dawn, on the twenty-sixth, a heavy cannonade was opened on her with red-hot balls: nor was it long before her crew was seen hastening into their boats; while the smoke first, and then the flames, began to rise from her decks; and, in about an hour, she blew up: the guns were then turned against the ship; but not wishing to share the fate of her comrade, she set up every inch of canvass; and being impelled both by sailing and towing, succeeded in getting out of the range of shot. All apparent obstacles being now removed, the army advanced to a more forward position; while arrangements were quietly made during the day till sunset: but from that period until near dawn the whole time was spent in wakefulness and alarm; for republican riflemen harassed our piquets; fired on the sentinels, as well as officers who went the rounds; and, disregarding the usages of civilised warfare, thought only of diminishing the number of their enemies by picking off every individual whom they could reach. As soon as day began to break, they retired; and the British formed in two columns: the right, under Gibbs, took post near the skirts of the morass, throwing out its skirmishers across the plain; while the left, under Keene, drew up on the road near the river, and was covered by the rifle corps, which extended itself to meet the skirmishers of the right column: with this division went the artillery; and at a given signal, the whole moved forward in high spirits, for about four or five miles, without the slightest check. At length they came in view of the republican army, advantageously posted behind a canal, which ran from the morass to within a short distance of the road: along its line were formidable breastworks; while on the road, and at various other points, were powerful batteries, aided by a large flotilla of gun-boats on the river, flanking its position. As our left column passed a few houses, built at a turning of the road, which concealed the enemy from view, it was suddenly checked by a destructive fire from the battery and shipping: scarcely a bullet passed over, or fell short of its mark; but striking full into the midst of the British ranks, made dreadful havoc: the houses also on the left, which had been purposely filled with combustibles, were now fired by red-hot shot; so that, while complete ranks were mowed down by artillery, the survivors were scorched by flames, or half suffocated with smoke: our troops, however, were not long suffered to remain in this situation; for, being ordered to quit the path, and form in the fields, artillery was brought up

against that of the enemy ; but being inferior both in number of guns and weight of metal, it was soon obliged to retire with great loss. The infantry having formed in line, now advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape shot, till they were stopped by the canal, the depth of which could not be ascertained : they were therefore ordered to take shelter in a wet ditch, sufficiently deep to cover the knees ; where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves, as well as they could, behind some high rushes on its brink : in the mean time, the advance of our right column had been stopped by similar impediments ; and nothing seemed advisable but to withdraw the troops from their perilous situation : a party of courageous seamen were employed to remove the dismounted guns, which service they effected under the whole fire of the enemy ; and then regiment after regiment stole away, amid discharges similar to those which had saluted their approach ; retiring to a position in the plain, about two miles from the enemy's works. In this situation they unaccountably remained inactive, from the twenty-eighth to the thirtieth of December ; though, if an attack was to be renewed, it never could have been supposed that such a commander as general Jackson would neglect to strengthen or complete his lines : indeed workmen were observed busily occupied in this very operation ; while numerous reinforcements continually arrived in his camp : neither did he, during this period, leave his antagonists in tranquillity : for by giving an elevation to his guns, he contrived to reach our entrenchments ; and he began also to erect batteries on the opposite or right bank of the river, whence a flanking fire could be thrown across the whole front of his position : his defences could not now be turned, nor his troops be drawn from them ; so that nothing remained to be done, but to erect breaching batteries and assault his works : this plan therefore was adopted ; three days being employed in bringing up heavy cannon, and making such preparations as might have sufficed for a siege.

On the night of the thirty-first, one half of our army was marched to the front, within three hundred yards of the enemy's position : favored by the darkness, and working in cautious silence, they succeeded in throwing up, before dawn, a work,¹⁸ on which thirty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted ; and then, falling back to a short distance, they lay down behind some reeds, to act as circumstances might require.

¹⁸ In throwing up this work, barrels of sugar, to the value of several thousands of pounds, were used instead of earth.

The next morning was very hazy; and when the mist gave way, the different American regiments were plainly discerned on parade, in their holiday suits, and with every demonstration of gaiety and gala; when the British batteries opened, and suddenly all was consternation and confusion: but their artillery soon rallied, and answered ours with quickness and precision: toward the close of day our ammunition began to fail, when the fire of the republicans was redoubled; and being aided by a large number of guns landed from their flotilla, as well as by batteries on the right bank of the Mississippi, the British were finally obliged to desert their works.

The fatigue undergone by officers and men was almost beyond conception: for two nights and days, no one had closed his eyes, except he were cool enough to sleep amid showers of cannon balls; and during the day, scarcely a moment could be allowed even for the troops to break their fast: but now, having retreated from an impracticable attempt, they were exposed not only to the fire in front, but to a deadly discharge of eighteen pieces of artillery from the opposite bank of the river, which swept the whole line of encampment: besides, the duty of a piquet guard became more dangerous than that of a general action, on account of the enemy's sharpshooters; and to approach a fire was certain death, from the facility of aim which it gave to the foe: in such circumstances, it was not surprising that murmurs were raised among our men; but these proceeded rather from irritation at the impossibility of bringing their opponents to action, than from any other motive: nor was their gallant leader less anxious to fight, though desirous of engaging on equal terms, if possible; and to effect this, he devised an admirable plan. Dividing his army, he resolved to send one part across the Mississippi, which might seize the enemy's battery, and turn it against them, while the other made a general assault on their lines: to effect this, however, it was necessary to cut a canal for boats, from the lake, across the intire neck of land, to the river: the fatigue endured by the troops in this undertaking cannot adequately be described: still it was effected; and while the Americans received a reinforcement of 2500 men from Kentucky, the British general Lambert unexpectedly arrived with two fine regiments, the seventh and forty-third; which, with a body of sailors and marines, increased our force to about 8000 men, of all arms.

On the sixth of January, boats were ordered up for the transport of 1400 troops; and colonel Thornton was appointed

to lead Picton's 'fighting rascals' of the eighty-fifth, the marines, and a party of sailors, across the rapid 'father of streams:' the soil, however, through which the canal ran, was so rotten, that it shelved in; and no more boats than a number capable of carrying 350 men, were able to reach their destination: according to orders, colonel Thornton was to embark and cross the river immediately after dark, push forward, carry the batteries, and point the guns before daylight; then, at a rocket signal, to commence firing on the enemy's line, which at the same moment was to be attacked by our main body, divided into three columns: general Keene, at the head of one, was to make a feint on the right; general Gibbs, with the other, to force the republican left; while general Lambert remained with the seventh and forty-third in reserve, to act as circumstances might require: scaling ladders and fascines had been also prepared, and given in charge to the forty-fourth regiment, as being numerically strong, and accustomed to American warfare: thus all things were arranged on the night of the seventh; and next day the fate of New Orleans was to be decided.

While the rest of our army lay down to sleep until they should be roused by their drums and bugles, colonel Thornton, with 1400 chosen troops, advanced to the river side: there, however, he found his commander's scheme impracticable; the boats had not arrived; and at last, some hours after the appointed time, only a few came up: determining, however, to try what could be effected, he crossed with a small force of 240 men, though they could not leave the canal till dawn was beginning to appear: it was in vain that they rowed like men in despair; that they effected their disembarkation in safety, and formed on the beach: day had already broke; the British army had advanced; and the signal rocket was sent up, while they were still four miles from the batteries, which ought to have been stormed soon after midnight. Nor was this the only disappointment which the gallant Pakenham experienced: when the troops stood in battle array, not a ladder or fascine was to be found in the field; for the forty-fourth had neglected to bring them: the indignation of sir Edward was extreme; galloping up to colonel Mullens, who, as it appeared, had been panic-struck, he commanded him to return instantly with his regiment for the ladders; but the opportunity of planting them was gone for ever: our troops were now visible to the foe; a dreadful fire was opened on them; and they were mowed down by hundreds, while they stood waiting for orders.

All his arrangements being thus frustrated, Pakenham gave the word to advance; and the other regiments, leaving the forty-fourth behind, rushed to the assault: on the left, a detachment carried an advanced battery, and attempted to cross the ditch by a single plank into the lines; but they were repulsed by superior numbers. On the right, where the twenty-first and fourth were almost cut to pieces, the ninety-third advanced, and took the lead: rushing impetuously on, our men soon reached the ditch; but to scale the intrenchment without ladders was impossible: some few, mounting on each other's shoulders, succeeded in clearing the parapet, to their own destruction; while those that stood without, were exposed to a sweeping fire, which cut them down by companies: they fell too, without seeing their opponents; for the Americans, not even raising their heads above the ramparts, swung their fire-locks by one arm over the wall, and fired directly down upon their assailants; while the batteries on the farther bank of the river kept up a dreadful flanking cannonade. Pakenham did all that could be done to rally his broken troops: riding toward the forty-fourth, which had returned to the field, though in much confusion, he called out for colonel Mullens to advance; but that officer was nowhere to be found: he therefore put himself at their head; and instantly received a slight wound in his knee from a bullet which killed his horse: mounting another charger, he again headed the regiment; when a second ball took effect more fatally, and this brave man fell lifeless into the arms of his aide-de-camp: nearly at the same time, both Keene and Gibbs were carried off the field severely wounded; and the army, without leaders, ignorant of what was to be done, hesitated, retreated, and finally quitted the scene in complete disorder.

On the other side of the river, colonel Thornton's party had landed, driven in an outpost, and stormed the enemy's works under a dreadful discharge of grape and canister-shot, by which their leader was wounded; but the failure of the main body rendered a retreat necessary: this movement was effected with great skill, under cover of some houses that were set on fire; and the little corps, entering their boats, reached the opposite bank without molestation.

As soon as the British army was re-united, a flag of truce was despatched with proposals to bury the dead, and two days for that purpose were granted; when, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, one of the most shocking and humiliating sights which an Englishman could view, disclosed

itself; for at one spot, within the small compass of some hundred yards, were gathered together nearly a thousand bodies, all arrayed in the British uniform; not a single American among them. In our camp, gloom and discontent, or indignation and rage prevailed; nor was the loss of friends less afflicting than that of honor: almost every one had to bewail a comrade; for between two and three thousand men had fallen: yet, though afflicted, they were not disheartened; nay, they even anticipated with eagerness a renewal of the combat; but general Lambert prudently determined not to risk the safety of his army on works that were impregnable: especially as the chance of success was materially diminished by recent losses: he prepared therefore for a retreat, while it was yet practicable; but during several days after the battle his camp was harassed by continual discharges of artillery, both in front, and from the banks of the river; nor could his men ever close their eyes without being awakened by the splash of a round shot or shell in the mud: moreover, no roads lay open except over deep morasses; and hurdles could not be obtained to form them: reeds therefore were substituted; and the army, after incredible sufferings and fatigues, from cold, and hunger, and want of rest, at length arrived at the borders of lake Borgne: even then they were without tents; and the morass was their only bed: the flotilla was eighty miles distant; only a part of the troops could be sent over at a time; so that if bad weather had come on, numbers must have perished by starvation. On reaching the fleet, they found that large reinforcements had arrived; but these, under present circumstances, were all useless: after remaining wind-bound till the fourth of February, they ran down as far as Cat Island, a spot of sandy soil, near the mouth of the lake; where they remained to the seventh, and then proceeded to attack Fort Mobile; with the reduction of which unimportant place hostilities in this quarter of America ceased. Jackson, it is confidently asserted, lost but thirteen men during the late attack: having re-entered New Orleans with his troops, on the twentieth of January, he was received with boundless acclamations; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered up in the cathedral. An incident then occurred, which seems like one belonging to the grandest era of the Roman republic: as martial law still existed, the general placed under arrest a member of the legislature, who had furnished the newspapers with some articles of a pernicious tendency: application was made to the district judge for a writ of *habeas*

corpus, to be served on the general; and this was granted in opposition to the positive injunctions of Jackson, by whose orders the judge himself was arrested, and sent out of the city: two days afterwards, official intelligence of a treaty of peace was received; and the civil magistrate had no sooner resumed his functions, than the military commander was summoned to answer for contempt of court: he accordingly appeared, and vindicated his conduct through his counsel; but was amerced in the sum of 1000 dollars. This sentence against the hero of New Orleans excited universal indignation, and the amount of the fine was quickly raised by the citizens: Jackson, however, had already discharged it from his own funds; and requested that the subscription might be distributed among the relatives of those who had fallen in the battle:¹⁹ he then resigned his command to general Gaines; and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his farm, until his country, requiring his services, again called him from his rural occupations.²⁰

Before the fatal termination of our expedition, the British and American commissioners at Ghent had concluded a treaty of peace, signed on the fourth of December; which, while it restored conquests on both sides, and concluded a settlement of boundaries on the Canadian frontier, to be adjusted afterwards, left the ostensible cause of war, 'the right of search,' untouched: but as America resigned her claim of compensation for captures made under our orders in council, her resistance to the maritime claims of England was considered to be tacitly abandoned: both parties bound themselves to do their utmost in abolishing the slave-trade. The interval

¹⁹ See Life of President Jackson, in the American Portrait Gallery.

²⁰ It must however be confessed that the military reputation of this distinguished man stands much higher than his political character; in corroboration of which opinion I quote the following sensible observations from one of our daily journals:—'We do not for a moment disguise our hope that the aristocratical element in English institutions, however modified, purified, or recruited, will survive to check the exaltation of mere momentary popular will as the sole power of government—that exaltation which Andrew Jackson did his part to accelerate and consummate, precisely by the same means and stages as we find it was done in the commonwealths of antiquity. The strongest sign of the progress of 'ochlocracy' in the Greek commonwealths, was the multiplication, and, as it were, the public scramble for petty offices, and the adoption of a system of rotation instead of election. and of a rapid succession in those offices, intended to gratify the universal thirst for an actual

between the actual conclusion of this treaty, and its publication, enabled the British navy to obtain a triumph, which made some slight compensation for our failure at New Orleans. The *President*, one of the largest American frigates, commanded by captain Decatur, accompanied by an armed brig, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during those gales by which our blockading squadron was driven out to sea: after a long chase, the *Endymion*, captain Hope, came up with the former, and a severe action ensued; when the *President*, having crippled her adversary in the rigging, was enabled to get a-head; but the British frigate *Pomona* coming up, the republicans surrendered after the exchange of a few broadsides. Some months previous to this, the United States frigate *Essex* had been taken off Valparaiso by the British frigate *Phœbe*; and our traders in that quarter were thus relieved from a formidable enemy: on the other side, the British sloop *Reindeer* had been captured by the American sloop *Wasp*.

One of the immediate advantages which the Americans derived from this war, was a greater consolidation of their union; others more indirect arose, not only from the impulse given by previous prohibitions to their manufacturing industry, but from the necessity that was now felt of a navy, to which their national energies were soon directed. With the return of peace, the flag of the republic was displayed on every sea; her territory rapidly extended itself; and internal improvements made astonishing strides; until at length was seen the phenomenon of a mighty empire, with all its state machinery in motion, unencumbered by a national debt. With regard to England, the conclusion of peace happily left her free and unembarrassed for the short but fierce conflict

share in power. This idea of rotation was put forth in president Jackson's messages precisely from the same motive (though probably he knew nothing about that) as prompted it in the states of Greece: and he carried out into actual practice the same principle so far as it consisted in making all places change hands, for the gratification of the humblest ambitions, by carrying further than ever had been done before him, on attaining power, a clean sweep of every holder of the lowest public office. In like manner the downward movement of democracy in the several states has tended to abridge the duration, and change the holders, even of judicial offices.' Moreover, it may be observed, that from the school or general Jackson have proceeded most of those presidents and statesmen who have encouraged political and territorial aggression, to an extent wholly incompatible with amicable ties and relations with other nations.

that soon took place in Europe ; while the war itself proved the fidelity of her colonies in Canada and Nova Scotia.

A British expedition, which sailed from Halifax in July, under general Pilkington, had reduced Moose Island, and two others in the bay of Passamaquoddy : in September, this advantage was followed up ; so that the enemy was compelled to burn a fine frigate, named the John Adams, and to leave the whole district, from that bay to the Penobscot river, in our possession. In consequence of the alarm thus created, measures were taken for defensive preparations ; and it was proposed to congress, that the military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men, should be preserved and rendered complete ; while an additional permanent force of 40,000 was raised to defend the cities and frontiers : a bill was accordingly introduced, providing, that all the white male inhabitants of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should be distributed into classes of twenty-five ; each class furnishing one able-bodied man to serve during the war ; and the property in each division being taken as nearly equal as possible : but any five men liable to service, who should join to furnish one soldier, were to be exempted from the operation of this law.

CHAPTER LVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1815.

Arrangements made by the congress of Vienna—Views respecting them, &c.—Napoleon escapes from Elba, and lands in France—His advance to Paris, &c.—Retreat of Louis XVIII. to Ghent—Acts of the congress—Conduct of Bonaparte—Ill-judged and unsuccessful movement of Murat—Sensation created in England by Napoleon's return, at a period of tumult and rioting on account of the corn laws—Acts of the British parliament—Its prorogation in July—Duke of Wellington assumes the command of the armies in the Netherlands—Operations of the allies and of the French to the time when Napoleon crossed the frontier—Battles of Ligny, Quatre-Bras, and Waterloo—Pursuit of the French army by the Prussians, &c.—Advance of the allies into France, to the capitulation of St. Cloud—Napoleon's abdication—Re-instatement of Louis XVIII. on his throne—Works of art in the Louvre reclaimed by the allies—Second treaty of Paris—Projects, &c. of the Holy Alliance—French ministry—Cases of Labedoyère, Ney, and Lavallette—Soult and Murat—Ultimate destiny of Napoleon—Rewards given by the British nation to the heroes of Waterloo.

FROM the close connexion of Great Britain, and her powerful influence, with other states, it becomes necessary to take a more enlarged view of the acts of a congress, which, for the magnitude and variety of interests it undertook to settle, is unexampled in the annals of history. Much remained to be done for the restoration of that political system which had suffered so total a dislocation; and for the adjustment of that balance of power, which had been so infirely overthrown: but matters were facilitated by a general coincidence of opinion among the delegates, regarding the principal points to be discussed; such as the maintenance of the French monarchy in its existing integrity, with the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian dominions, according to the terms of a treaty already agreed on: much also was expected from the personal character and mutual friendship of the monarchs present, as well as from the talents and practical experience of many among their ministers: still there existed obstacles

to a final settlement; among which were arrangements regarding Saxony and Poland, as well as the political and territorial relations of the Germanic states; fears also were entertained, and not without cause, that discussion might be interrupted, or negotiations broken off, by the tenacious purposes of selfish policy: but it happened by a singular fatality that an event occurred in the midst of these deliberations, which hastened them to a conclusion by overpowering the voice of individual interest. 'The man of destiny,' says Heeren, 'was again to make his appearance, to confirm that which he was anxious to destroy:' unmindful however at present of this interruption, let us proceed to notice the principal arrangements made for restoring the political system of Europe on the basis of legitimate monarchy.

Scarcely was there a power, whose territorial relations were not in a distracted state; and nothing but the reduction of France to her ancient limits could have rendered an adjustment possible: yet complete restoration was not to be effected without much hardship, and some injustice: the number of souls and square miles, as well as the amount of revenue, was generally taken as a criterion, and not intirely without reason; though it too often became the sole criterion; while the difficulty of establishing a general epoch was overcome by adopting a different one for each of the three powers most concerned: with France it preceded 1792: with Austria it was the year 1805; and with Prussia 1806.

Germany, that ancient fulcrum on which the balance of power rested, and whose fate is so intimately connected with the interests of Europe, naturally claims our first attention: but what an aspect did this chaotic mass present, torn and dismembered on all sides; with its rights of possession everywhere altered and uncertain! The necessity of rendering the union of its states as perfect as possible, appeared evident to every unprejudiced observer, and was loudly demanded by the public voice: but as the transformation of all into one state would have been adverse both to German improvement and European liberty, a federative union of independent powers, according to an idea started at the first treaty of Paris, was now proposed; and to forward this measure, a German commission was appointed, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg: thirteen sessions, however, fruitlessly employed, made it manifest that no agreement could be expected, while Bavaria and Wurtemberg presented so many objections: besides, the other

German states and free cities entered into a counter-alliance, to oppose any decision of the commission made without their assent. 'All hope,' says Heeren, 'of the execution of this scheme was on the point of vanishing, when a higher destiny, confirming the tardy resolutions of the princes by an appeal to their fears, stepped in to its assistance.' A general deliberation was first held in May and June; and the act of union was signed on the eighth of the latter month; by which the sovereign princes and free cities of Germany entered into a perpetual league, called the Germanic Confederation, with a federative diet, to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. Though the connecting bond was drawn less tightly than was desired by some of the most powerful parties, yet it was hoped that time would render this body more compact, as the necessity of cohesion might be felt: to secure internal tranquillity, with independence regarding other countries, as well as to maintain political equality among all members of the union, were objects proposed and settled.¹

Territorial arrangements in Germany were closely connected with the restoration of its two greatest monarchies; and as this concerned all Europe, the five leading powers which had concluded the peace of Paris now formed a closer combination, under the presidency of prince Metternich, into which the ministers of Spain, Portugal, and Sweden were admitted in particular cases. The restoration of the Austrian empire was effected, chiefly by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy, and of the reconquered Illyrian provinces; but in part by the return of cessions which had been made to Bavaria² and Russia: with these acquisitions it contained 28,000,000 inhabitants, of which about 10,000,000 belonged to the German confederation; the rest being Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians,

¹ The constitution of the German confederation was perfected in the conferences at Vienna, during the years 1819 and 1820, when a supplementary act of sixty-five articles was added to it.

² 1. In Italy, all the countries between the Tesino, Po, and Adriatic sea, with the Valtelin and Chiavenna, and the part of Mantua south of the Po, were elevated into a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom: the family also acquired the three *secundo-genitures*, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, with Piacenza. 2. The Illyrian provinces were elevated into a kingdom. 3. Austria acquired what was formerly Venetian Dalmatia, with Ragusa, and the islands as far as Cattaro. 4. By compacts with Bavaria, the Tyrol, and Salzburg as far as the Salza: also those portions of the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel ceded in 1809. 5. From Russia she recovered the district ceded in East Galicia.—See Heeren, vol. ii. p. 412.

and Poles; a union of nations and states under a common sovereign, but without a common constitution.

A restoration of the Prussian monarchy, according to its statistical relations previous to 1806, was thought requisite by all the powers: yet so grievously had this state been mangled, that to effect it completely was impossible: Anspach and Baireuth could not be restored, on account of their situation, without mutilating Bavaria: Cleves therefore and Berg were substituted. The greatest difficulties, however, were occasioned by the claims of Russia to the duchy of Warsaw; and the curse of Polish partitions still lay heavy on Europe. Prussia, attaching herself to Russia, consented to yield; but for this sacrifice she demanded the whole of Saxony, whose king was to be indemnified in Westphalia. The cause of this monarch was advocated by Austria and England, but more especially by France; and as the feelings of the people were taken but little into consideration, a middle course of policy was pursued; so the country which had suffered most was now divided: a part also of the duchy of Warsaw was allotted to Prussia, together with Swedish Pomerania, Ahremberg, and other Westphalian provinces, with the greater part of the left bank of the Rhine, as far as to the Saar, by which Germany obtained a bulwark in that quarter. Thus, with about 10,000,000 inhabitants, and a territory separated into two large portions, Prussia returned into the rank of great powers; though to hold her station there, her spirit must continue to supply what is wanting in point of territory:³ a constitutional form of government was promised in place of a despotism; but the organization of the administration was to precede that of the constitution; the latter being attended with great difficulties in such a divided state.

In the territorial adjustment of other great Germanic powers, Bavaria acquired, for its cessions to Austria, a part of the left bank of the Rhine, with Wurzburg, Aschaffenburg, and other portions of Fulda. Wurtemberg and Baden remained without alteration. Hanover, now a kingdom, received Prussia Hildesheim, East Friesland, the lower district of Lingen, Meppen, a part of Eichsfeld, and some districts from the elector of Hesse; ceding however to Prussia Lauenburg beyond the Elbe (afterwards exchanged with Denmark for Pomerania and Rugen), as well as some other districts.

³ Of the ten provinces of this monarchy, seven only belong to the Germanic confederation; the other three are East and West Prussia, and Posen.

The restoration of the Netherlands was considered among the most important objects of congress; since the Belgic state in the hands of France, was the first and most direct avenue to universal dominion: the apparent necessity of founding on this territory a powerful sovereignty, which, at least in alliance with Prussia, should be able to defend itself, produced the union of all the Netherlands, with a liberal constitution, under a single monarch:⁴ the necessity of a fixed boundary was also provided for; and England agreed to strengthen this at her own cost by a chain of fortifications, in return for the cession of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. Though it was not expected that two nations differing in origin, language, and religion, could immediately amalgamate; and though it was not possible to open at once to the industry of both the commerce and markets which they desired; yet it was hoped that the foundation of a permanent union might be laid, and that the wisdom of the house of Orange would effect the rest.

The restoration of the French state, as before observed, was the means and condition of restoring that of Europe: the necessity of its continuance among the most powerful monarchies had been openly proclaimed by the allies, even in the midst of victory; and though France was now brought back to her ancient limits, her situation and extent, her climate, soil, population, and spirit, must always give her immense advantages, which nothing but internal dissensions can destroy. Her constitution was wisely left to her own judgment; and although that which the people offered to their restored monarch had been rejected, yet no serious objections were made to the *charte* which Louis XVIII. presented to them in return; while his prudence and moderation seemed pledges that it was given in sincerity, and would be faithfully observed: the existence, however, of a free constitution, with an autocratic administration, was a problem remaining to be solved.⁵

⁴ The constituent parts of the kingdom of the Netherlands were, all the Batavian and Belgic provinces, with Luttich, divided into seventeen provinces; beside the separate grand duchy of Luxemburg, through which the kingdom itself formed a part of the Germanic confederation. The inheritance of the throne was secured to the house of Orange; the king being invested with full executive powers, and a council of his own appointment: there was a legislative body, or states-general, divided into two chambers; while freedom of worship and political equality of religious denominations were accorded.

⁵ The French *charte* had much in common with the British, but not

A special committee was appointed for the restoration of the Swiss confederacy ; the result of which was the annexation of the three separated cantons of Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva, to the union ; with an acknowledgement of its perpetual neutrality. According to a new act, signed and sworn to this year by the twenty-two cantons, all guaranteed the territory and constitution of each : there was no longer any subject countries ; and the enjoyment of political rights was not confined to any class of citizens : a diet was established, to be held every two years at Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne successively, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the confederacy ; to be formed of delegates from all the cantons, who should vote according to instructions : in common cases the majority to decide ; two-thirds being necessary in the case of foreign alliances.

With regard to Sardinia, its territorial extent was increased, less in conformity with the principles of right than of convenience, by the incorporation of the republic of Genoa, with a free harbor for the capital ; while the succession was secured to the line of Carignano. The states of the church were restored to their ancient limits and to that wretched condition in which they existed before the revolution, including Bologna and Ferrara : but in this latter city, Austria reserved the right of keeping a garrison, while France retained Avignon. The *secundo-genitures* of Tuscany and Modena, belonging to Austria, were augmented by the establishment of Parma and Piacenza into a state, for the archduchess Maria Louisa ; but to this arrangement, Spain, who claimed those cities for Don Carlos, son to the former queen of Etruria, made such resistance, that she refused to sign the act of congress.

The republic of the Ionian islands, formed during the storms of war, was now placed under the peaceful protection of Great

everything : it gave a constitutional king, with the plenitude of executive power, responsible ministers, a chamber of hereditary peers appointed by the king, and a chamber of deputies ; but the king had an exclusive power of proposing laws ; the inheritance of the peerage was connected with primogeniture ; and the ministers had, *ex officio*, a seat and power of speaking in the chambers. The law of election and of age made forty years requisite for a deputy, thirty for a peer ; but changes have since been made in this constitution, especially connected with the peerage and the press : of its colonies, France recovered Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, Les Saintes with its port of St. Martin, Cayenne, Senegal, and Goree ; the isle of Bourbon, Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore.

Britain, with the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgement of its commercial flag: the British sovereign was to depute a lord high commissioner, with a power of appointing the president of the senate, consisting of five members taken from the legislative assembly, chosen by the noble electors: the senate to possess the executive and initiatory powers; so that every law and resolution must first have the approbation of the lord commissioner: each island to have its separate government and courts, but with a court of appeal for all. In regard to the miserable countries of Spain and Portugal, the settlement of their governments, connected as they were with all that is bigoted and contemptible in human nature, was impracticable: their future changes and prospects will be noticed hereafter.

As the northern part of Europe had not been spared by the turbulence of the times, so all the states pertaining to it underwent considerable changes. Denmark had to renounce Norway, receiving in return only Swedish Pomerania; which she subsequently exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenburg as far as the Elbe: her form of government remained unaltered; but the introduction of a constitution of states into Holstein drew the country within the bounds of the great Germanic confederacy. The Scandinavian peninsula was now brought under the dominion of one monarch; and Sweden found in this union a political, if not a statistical equivalent, for the loss of Finland: with free constitutions, though differing in some respects from each other, and under a monarch renowned both in peace and war, Sweden and Norway have nothing to desire, and are probably destined to enjoy a long period of peace and prosperity.

No state issued from the convulsions of war more strengthened by national spirit arising from success, and more enlarged by territorial acquisitions, than Russia, that great leviathan of the north: on one side she was aggrandised by all Finland; on another by Bessarabia, with part of Moldavia; and on a third by several provinces acquired from Persia; while Poland was allotted to her in the present congress: this latter unfortunate country, though it was united for ever to the Russian empire, acquired a representative government of its own, which left the principal regulations, as they existed in the duchy of Warsaw, unchanged: the emperor, as its king, obtained the plenitude of executive power, of which he confided the discharge to a viceroy, assisted by ministers and a council of state; the diet consisting of the senate and chamber of depu-

ties, to be convened every two years: its limits comprised the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of Posen (assigned to Prussia), and the small district of Cracow; to which city, independence, a free constitution, and absolute neutrality were secured: thus the Russian eagle, hovering over two quarters of the world, with its eye fixed, as was supposed, on the ancient seat of Constantine, became a subject of considerable anxiety and distrust to many members of the European confederacy. Nor did England, which emerged uninjured from the distress of nations, and which required no restoration of territory or constitution, escape the jealousy of other states: the unexampled efforts which this country had made for the salvation of Europe demanded some recompense; and it was given in the possession of Malta and the Cape, as well as in the protective sovereignty of the Ionian islands: these acquisitions were small indeed in point of territory; yet when viewed in conjunction with her insular dependencies, and her possession of Gibraltar, they appeared to many as the great prizes of the war: in fact, they did confirm her power as mistress of the ocean; while her tremendous navy, and her colonial dependencies in both hemispheres, hid from general view, but known everywhere by their effects, added a sublimity to her grandeur, which has never been acquired by any other empire: yet, as apprehensions existed of injury to the balance of power by the union of Poland with Russia, especially if that state should hereafter be augmented by the spoils of Turkey, what counterpoise could have been contrived so effectual as the naval power of England? a dominion, mighty to control, but harmless to subdue; particularly when connected with a constitution like that of Great Britain.

The influence indeed of her constitution upon other nations, contributed to her glory, even more than the splendor of victory: by her fixed and earnest purpose, the abolition of the slave-trade, as far as circumstances would permit, had been effected; by her institutions, the light of christianity, that great vehicle of civilisation, had been diffused over all quarters of the globe; and they now became the source of that free spirit, which appeared in many parts of the new European confederacy: a taste for political freedom, thus excited in the western nations, may in itself perhaps be considered as the best counterpoise against the predominating power of particular states. 'Nevertheless,' as it has been observed, 'an aristocracy of the leading powers was practically and diplomatically formed in the restored system, such as did not exist, at least openly,

in the former system of Europe: practically it originated in the manner of the restoration; for how was it possible that the management of general affairs should not come into the hands of monarchs, to whose strenuous exertions the weaker states were indebted for their restoration? In a diplomatic point of view, this aristocracy, proceeding from the nature of the relations, was founded by the treaty of Chaumont, establishing for twenty years a quadruple alliance of the four leading powers, Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia; it was confirmed by the forms of negotiation, and the league of Vienna; finally, it was perfected by the accession of France to that league at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.⁶ There was however one radical cause of mischief in all these proceedings: no political change can be secure which insults the feelings of human nature, or violates the principles of justice: to some of the bartered provinces their separate independence had been guaranteed; while others were transferred to rulers who waited only for such a connexion to oppress them with intolerable servitude, and to drain every source of their prosperity, for the benefit of the sovereign territory: the disgust of the Belgians at their union was little less than that of the victims of Mezentius: the Milanese had an equal horror of Austrian domination: the Saxons clung with a more than filial affection to the memory of their excellent sovereign, and his paternal government: while the devoted Poles could not shut their eyes against the miserable fate impending over their heads: hence, in the very ground that was prepared for a harvest of all peaceful virtues, the seeds of dissension were plentifully scattered; nor did a long period elapse before these became manifest. It was hoped however that policy might acquire a higher sanction than mere diplomacy could lend: religion therefore was called in to its aid; a holy alliance was contemplated, over which, when it assembled, the false principles already introduced into the system threw a dark shade of suspicion, and rendered it a by-word among nations: whether any sinister views or ambitious motives lay concealed in the background at its formation it is difficult to discover; for many obstacles stood in the way of its beneficial operation, owing to the defective nature and imperfect knowledge of popular rights on the continent: probably, its founder, Alexander, was sincere; and his memory suffers from the merciless disposition of his successor: the treaty of Vienna however has

⁶ Heeren, vol. ii. p. 438.

generally turned out a dead letter, or has only been active when it could be rendered an instrument of oppression. How long have the Prussian people been left without a constitution, and subjected to the severest military code in Europe! how have the prisons of Austria echoed with the groans of thousands distinguished by rank, talent, or patriotism; and who, daring even to dream of independence, may have given utterance to their sleeping thoughts! How soon was Poland deprived of her diet; while that of Hungary was shorn of its influence and popular attributes! Switzerland was soon frightened out of her independence; and the armies of three mighty potentates were drawn round the little city of Cracow; because, relying on the faith of treaties, and refusing to follow the base example of Prussia, it refused to violate the laws of hospitality, by giving up to the insatiable rage of Nicholas a few intrepid Poles who claimed its protection. The law of nations has, from the earliest times, accorded an asylum in a foreign land to the stranger prosecuted for political offences in his own; and it has been reserved for the three powers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, infamously to seek its infraction, in order that the blood-stained Nicholas may glut his vengeance to the full. Thousands of the wretched Poles have fallen in the field; thousands are lingering in the deserts of Siberia; thousands have perished under tortures mental and corporeal; yet the vengeance of the autocrat is not satisfied:⁷ so Austria and Prussia consent to become panders for its gratification, by the open violation of a solemn treaty made and ratified at the congress of Vienna!

In the mean time, while the pomp of European diplomacy was there collected, and every day saw some new experiment of power, in the mutilation of monarchies and the transfer of allegiance, intelligence arrived, that the prisoner of Elba had escaped, and was already seated on the throne of Louis *le Désiré*. The explosion of a mine could scarcely have been more startling to the negotiators: 'the grand charlatan has outwitted the little ones,' exclaimed the witty and sarcastic diplomatist of France: but it happened that he out-tricked himself at the same time; for had he waited only a few months longer, not only would the congress have been dissolved, but its troops would have been disbanded.

⁷ Lately this imperial autocrat has taken up the weapons of religious persecution against both Jews and Christians; bidding fair to rival, it not excel, the worst of Roman emperors in that line.

Europe once more put on her panoply; and England, without trusting merely to subsidies, or the faith of foreign courts, boldly took that lead in the contest which became her rank, her interest in the event, and her established superiority in arms.

Though the terms of the peace had been studiously calculated to recommend it to the French, no concessions were of much avail with the mass of that people: after the recollection of their escape from the horrors of unsuccessful war, and the consequent invasion of their territories, had subsided, they became disposed to murmur at the contraction of their boundaries, and to complain that Belgium at least had not remained with them: but this was only a slight grievance compared with the wounds inflicted on their sense of honor, as it was called; or rather, on that vanity which arises from military ascendancy and national aggrandisement: discontent on this score passed from the ranks of the army into different classes of society; while various other sources of dissatisfaction and of embarrassment arose from restraint necessarily placed on the liberty of the press; from occasional deviations from the national charter; from apprehensions naturally entertained, lest the crown and church lands, alienated during the revolution, should now be resumed; from the claims and conduct of returning emigrants; from the bigotry of priests; and from that enormous defalcation of the finances, which, in the two years of 1812 and 1813 alone, equalled the sum of £13,000,000 sterling; but which had been studiously kept out of public view by Napoleon: thus split into parties, vexed with nameless jealousies, receiving a master from the hands of conquerors, never hearing the names of public liberty or limited monarchy from the restored government, and, above all, imbued with a spirit that revolted from the sacred ties of morality and religion, France became full of inflammable materials; nor was a torch long wanting to light them up into a flame.

For some time, Napoleon had felt irritated and discontented in his exile. The most serious political blunders had been committed with respect to the fallen emperor: 'to extinguish his ambition,' says an eloquent writer, 'he had been suffered to retain the imperial title; to destroy his connexion with the French military, he was permitted to retain his flag, his staff, and a portion of his guard; to prevent the possibility of his renewing disturbances in France or Italy, he was fixed on an island almost within sight of both; while the consequences were foreseen by all mankind, except the emperors, the

diplomats, and the Bourbons.⁸ At this particular time, he became subject to great pecuniary inconveniences, from plunging into expenses without weighing the amount of his resources; and these evils were much heightened by the culpable neglect of the French government, which had not paid any portion of the yearly income secured to him by treaty: thus harassed, and tormented by the restlessness of a mind impatient of restraint, he gave vent to expressions which excited suspicion; and it is said, that not only a plan was in agitation for removing him from his island throne, and transferring him to a securer place of confinement; but that the design transpired, and reached the ears of Napoleon himself. Having found means therefore to elude the vigilance of sir Neil Campbell, appointed by a very loose kind of commission to watch his movements, he embarked, with his 400 guards, 100 Polish lancers, and about 200 Italian adventurers, on board his brig; being accompanied by three other vessels that were accidentally in the harbor of Porto Ferrajo. After escaping detection by several French men of war, as well as the pursuit of sir Neil Campbell, the illustrious adventurer landed in the evening of the first of March near Frejus; where he had formerly embarked both for Egypt and for Elba: having bivouacked on the shore until the moon arose, he advanced at the head of his little band, and was received with enthusiasm by the peasantry: at Grenoble, where general Marchand commanded, a part of the garrison was drawn out to oppose his progress; the muskets of the soldiers were even pointed against him and his followers; when Napoleon, advancing with intrepid step, and asking, 'Who desired to slay him? for now was the time!' was answered by the old cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* Marchand, faithful to his trust, ordered the garrison to arms, and the artillery on the ramparts to be charged; but the gunners put in the shot before the powder; while Labedoyère, colonel of the seventh regiment, marched out at the head of his corps with drums beating, and preceded by his regimental eagles, to salute and join the emperor: this impulse decided the conduct of the army and the success of the invasion. The startling news had now reached Paris: Louis XVIII. proclaimed Napoleon a traitor, and set a price on the head of one who derided the idle menace: he then proposed Soult for the command of the army, which was to cut off the invader's march from Lyons; but that captain prudently declined the honor, satisfied himself

⁸ Croley, Life of George IV. p. 437.

by laughing at Napoleon's temerity, and proposed in his stead the impolitic and impetuous Ney, who, in the pride of recent favor, boasted that 'he would bring back the Corsican in an iron cage.' Napoleon however directed Bertrand to write a letter to the marshal, in which he threw on him the responsibility of all the blood that might be shed; and Ney immediately joined his standard. That the Bourbons might not appear wanting to their own cause, Monsier, with the duke of Orleans, set out toward Lyons; the duke d'Angoulême, repaired to Nismes; and the duc de Berri was named general of the army appointed to defend the capital, having under him marshal Macdonald: the legislative body, with many of the nobility, declared for the royal cause; and the ministers of foreign powers, resident at Paris, hastened to assure his majesty of foreign support. An address, on the eighth of march, was issued by Soult, then minister of war, denouncing Bonaparte as a traitor, and exhorting the soldiers 'to rally round the banner of the lilies, under the worthy heir of the great Henry;' but the king grew uneasy at the defeat of all his war minister's plans, and dismissed him with a letter full of compliment and royal confidence: after the lapse of two months from Soult's address, he was announced in the *Moniteur* as major-general of Napoleon's empire, and gazetted as a peer! In the mean time, the emperor had issued his decrees from Lyons, rescinding all that had been done in his absence, and was advancing toward the capital: as a last resource, Louis convoked a council, on the eighteenth of March; when the marshals, and other officers present, gave their opinion that no effectual resistance could be made; though they were so warmly contradicted by the royalist nobles, that the king was obliged hastily to break up the assembly: the question however was soon brought to an issue; for the two armies approached each other at Melun: that of the king, under the command of marshal Macdonald, being drawn up, on the twentieth, in three lines, to stop the invaders. There was for a long time a pause of intense anxiety: at length, about noon, the sound of galloping steeds was heard; an open carriage appeared, escorted by a few troopers, and drawn by four horses at full speed: it suddenly stopped; and Napoleon, in his grey coat, leaping from the vehicle, plunged into the ranks which had been formed to oppose him: then arose the general shout of *Vive l'Empereur!* and no farther obstacle existed between himself and that capital, which for a brief space he was destined again to occupy as sovereign.

The unhappy monarch, anticipating this defection of his army, had departed from Paris, and was followed by the loyal Macdonald, the last marshal who quitted the emperor, the first who devoted himself to the king: proceeding on the way to Lille, Louis passed through Abbeville and other garrison towns, where the soldiers received him with a sullen kind of respect: at Lille he hoped to make a stand; but marshal Mortier, one among the few found faithful, being aware of the state of the garrison, urged him to proceed; when he departed to Ostend, and subsequently to Ghent. In the mean time, the revolution had full play in the capital; where Lavallette, one of Napoleon's ancient aides-de-camp, having assumed the management of the post-office, was enabled to intercept the royal proclamations, and announce to every department the emperor's restoration: the white flag, which floated over the Tuilleries, was now taken down, and replaced by the tricolored banner; and when Napoleon, after his uninterrupted triumphal march, arrived late in the evening, he was welcomed by such crowds pressing round him, that his officers were obliged to support him in their arms up the grand staircase; and thence into the royal apartments, where he listened to the joyous acclamations of the multitude.

As already has been observed, the congress was sitting when these remarkable incidents burst on the world; it became necessary therefore for that body to express its sentiments on so extraordinary an occasion: accordingly, a declaration appeared on the thirteenth of March, asserting that Napoleon Bonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; and that for the future there could be neither peace nor truce with one who, having placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, had rendered himself liable to public vengeance: desiring therefore to maintain intire the treaty of Paris, and the dispositions which that treaty sanctioned, they expressed a resolution to provide against every attempt which might threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of revolution.

All Europe now rang with preparations for war: on the twenty-fifth of March, a treaty was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to maintain and enforce the above-mentioned resolution; each of the contracting parties agreeing to keep constantly in the field 150,000 men; and engaging, among many other stipulations, not to lay down their arms but by common consent. The usurper did not hesitate to declare his ready acquiescence in the treaty of

Paris, and to express, in a letter to each of the allied monarchs, a wish to make peace on its principles: no answer however was returned; for the decision of the confederates had been already taken: finding therefore that nothing could be gained by negotiation, Napoleon became sensible that the grand point at issue could only be determined on the field of battle: consequently, he endeavored in good earnest to conciliate the French people; publishing a list of his own grievances to justify the step he had taken, and especially insisting on his restoration to the throne by the voice of the nation. On the first of June he held the assembly of the *Cham de Mai*, to present his new constitution to the people, and to distribute among his regiments the eagles under which they were no longer destined to conquer. Having next summoned the chambers, he discarded all pretensions to absolute power, and professed himself a friend to constitutional liberty: he remarked that there was little cause to provide against the intoxications of triumph, when they were about to contend for existence; and having stated the crisis to be imminent, he cautioned them to avoid the conduct of the Roman people in the latter stages of the empire, who engaged fiercely in abstract discussions while the common enemy was battering the gates of the capital: then departing 'to measure himself with Wellington,' he left them engaged in the task of altering and modifying this new code of laws. The defeat and ruin of the king of Naples about this time was a discouraging event to Napoleon: Murat, against whose tenure of the crown old Ferdinand exclaimed vehemently, had never been acknowledged king; and being apprehensive, not without reason, that the congress of Vienna meditated his dethronement, he suddenly attacked the Austrians, and proclaimed independence to Italy: but the Italian patriots had not sufficient confidence in his character and pretensions to answer his invocation; while the Neapolitan rabble was little qualified to contend with the legions of Austria: after some slight successes, therefore, he was routed in two engagements, and escaped to France, a disguised and miserable fugitive; his rash conduct in the present instance being as unfortunate for Bonaparte as his base desertion had been in the preceding year. Napoleon's only chance of peace lay in the interest which he might excite in the mind of the Austrian emperor; but this was now wholly cut off; for, 'how can I treat with him,' said Francis, when he excites his brother-in-law to attack me in Italy?'

The sensation created in England by Bonaparte's resumption

of the French throne, though strong, was hardly equal to the singular importance of that event: the period was one of tumultuary discontent throughout the realm; and the week in which this news arrived from France was signalled by the most alarming riots that had distinguished the metropolis for many years. Bread being the chief article of daily sustenance, its supply at a moderate price is necessarily an object of general desire, and the people expected that the return of peace would gratify their wishes in this respect: but the lords and occupiers of land, unwilling to relinquish the high prices which corn had for some years borne, and having a strong pretext in the heavy burdens left on them, above all other classes, to support, were clamorous for a prohibitory duty on foreign grain: the subject had been discussed in the preceding session; and the result was an act which allowed exportation without duty or bounty; but a bill for regulating importation was rejected, with a view to further inquiry. Mr. Frederic Robinson now revived that scheme which suited the views of corn-growers, by proposing that no wheat should be imported, while the price of a quarter remained under eighty shillings in the united kingdom; but that it might be introduced from the British territories in North America, when the price was so low as sixty-seven shillings; and he argued for the necessity of altering the laws on this subject, from the serious injury to which the agricultural interest, that great support of the country, would otherwise be liable: it was highly impolitic, he said, to depend on foreign supplies, which might fail us at the time of the greatest need; and the best encouragement ought to be given to the production of such a stock of corn as would preclude the necessity of importation.

His proposition was strongly resisted by Mr. Baring, who alleged that the practice of importation had not checked, but was rather calculated to advance, the progress of agriculture; that the accommodation of general consumers ought to be more anxiously consulted than the exclusive interests of the cultivators of land; and that the suggested standard was improperly calculated on the supposed continuance of the present expenses of the latter class. Numerous petitions from the manufacturing and commercial towns were presented against any alteration of the laws respecting corn; and from that period to the present this question has been a constant source of clamor and discontent. Notwithstanding the indications of popular feeling, a bill was introduced, after warm preliminary debates, for the

gratification of landholders; and it was supported in its progress by ample majorities, while the consumers of bread became infuriated at the prospect of high prices and starvation. Multitudes, chiefly from Spitalfields, blocking up the avenues to both houses of parliament, so insulted and maltreated obnoxious members, that it became necessary to call out the military in aid of the civil power: several houses belonging to supporters of this bill were attacked by the mob; those of Mr. Robinson and lord Eldon were particularly exposed to wanton havoc; the family of the latter being obliged to fly for refuge at night to the British Museum: a renewal of these outrages occasioned the death of two individuals, who, though not engaged in the riot, were unfortunately shot from one of the windows, by soldiers stationed within. When the bill passed through both houses, the corporation of London addressed the regent, hoping that he would withhold his royal assent from a measure which was generally disapproved of by the nation; but it scarcely could be expected that he would reject a plan which his ministers promoted, and which a large majority of each house had deliberately sanctioned.

The commotion thus excited was arrested, rather than allayed, by the sudden event which again compromised the peace of Europe: that the escape and restoration of Napoleon would rekindle the flames of war who indeed could doubt? Such a declaration as might have been expected had already emanated from the congress; and the treaty of Chaumont was rendered still more obligatory on the confederated princes by its renewal at Vienna: preparations for executing its menaces were instantly prosecuted with zeal and alacrity in this country; while the regent sent a message to both houses; in which he stated, that, relying on the support of parliament, he had given orders for the augmentation of his land and naval forces: the necessity for war, however, was not at this time insisted on; though the cabinet had undoubtedly resolved on hostilities, by previously sending instructions for the signature of a treaty which breathed a warlike spirit. The address of the peers passed without a division; but, in the house of commons, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, expressly recommending the preservation of peace: he regarded the address as covertly pledging the house to war; but Mr. Ponsonby construed it as expressing no such pledge: thus opposition was divided, and the amendment rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty votes against thirty-seven. The supposed negligence of ministers, in suffering the escape of one whom they had

branded as the oppressor of Europe, formed a subject of pointed animadversion; and it was fairly contended, that, if the allies thought him so dangerous an enemy to the civilised world, they ought to have secured his person, when they had it in their power: yet they had made a very improper choice of a residence; from which their own want of vigilance tempted him to emigrate.

A vehement attack also was at this time made on the imperfections of the American treaty. Mr. Ponsonby censured the negligence of the plenipotentiaries, not only for their long delay in adjusting the treaty, but for the indefinite postponement of the most important objects of discussion. Peace, he said, was highly desirable; but if it did not promise to be permanent, blame must attach itself to the negotiators, or to the statesmen by whom they were employed; because it was the true interest of both nations to remove all grounds of dispute. Mr. Goulburn, who, with the assistance of lord Gambier and Dr. Adams, had managed the treaty on the part of Great Britain, denied that this alleged delay was impolitic or unnecessary; since it was the duty of himself and his colleagues to proceed with caution, and to secure by discussion and exposition the most favorable terms. The American negotiators, he observed, had been ordered to decline a definitive adjustment, unless the claim of impressment should be relinquished, and the rights of neutrals explicitly acknowledged: but to prevent a continuance of the war, they at length agreed to waive those points. Mr. Baring, dissatisfied with this vindication of the treaty, severely condemned the whole process, and its very imperfect result; but his and other animadversions, could procure no more than thirty-seven votes for an amendment in an unreformed house of commons; while an address of thanks was supported by 128. In the upper house, when the treaty had been severely arraigned by lord Wellesley, and feebly defended by earl Bathurst, eighty-three votes were procured for an address, against a minority of thirty.

An important act was passed in the beginning of this session, for extending the trial by jury, in civil causes, to Scotland. Its provisions differed in several particulars from those of English law; and the granting such a trial was made optional, in each case, with the judges: but hopes were entertained that at no distant period a farther extension of the principle would be allowed; especially as the present measure was favorably received by the Scotch. A bill also passed for continuing the restriction of cash payments by the bank of

England, till the fifth of July, 1816; a motion for inquiry having been previously negatived.

On the twenty-second of May the final question of war was brought before parliament in a message from the throne: it was debated next day by the lords; when earl Grey in a powerful speech strongly urged the necessity of a pacific policy for this country, while lord Grenville supported the warlike views of administration: on the twenty-fifth it was discussed in the lower house; where Mr. Grattan, with a vehement and eloquent indignation, declaiming against the despoiler of Europe, advocated the most energetic measures to hurl him from the throne which he had usurped. The renewal of war, however, demanded large supplies; and such were granted, as stand an unparalleled instance of national power in the annals of the world. Will posterity believe, that, after the exhaustion consequent on so protracted a contest, this nation was able in one year to raise the enormous sum of £90,000,000 sterling for the public service? Yes: for in the future development of British resources, it is probable that posterity will be enabled to double that sum, if requisite. Our allies were able to furnish men in abundance; but their pecuniary means were inadequate to the present exigency: £9,000,000 therefore were allowed, under the head of foreign disbursements; England paying eighteen pounds for each foot soldier, and thirty pounds for each horseman, to make up the deficiency of her contingent settled by the treaty of Chaumont: more than £39,000,000 were still required for the expenses of her own army establishment, beside a sum nearly amounting to £5,500,000 for the ordnance department; while, to make assurance doubly sure, the navy was kept up in all its prowess, at an expense of £18,644,200! The unjust and inquisitorial *income* tax, which ministers had abandoned to popular indignation, was continued as an indispensable part of the financial system in time of war; but the loan system now reached its acmé; for the whole sum so raised this year amounted to £42,000,000. A message from the regent on the twenty-seventh of June announced the marriage of the duke of Cumberland with the widow of the prince of Salms; and a motion was made in the commons for an addition to that royal person's income; but as it appeared that the queen had expressed a strong objection to this union, the grant was negatived by 126 votes against 125: the escape of lord Cochrane from the king's Bench prison, his recapture, and subsequent liberation, would scarcely be worth noticing, were it not for the remarkable cir-

cumstance, that, on this occasion, his single voice determined the above question, and relieved the speaker from the unpleasant necessity of giving a casting vote on a question of considerable delicacy : parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July by a speech from the throne.

The close of the year 1814 had left the fortified frontier of Belgium, on the side of France, occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly composed of British troops, or of such as were in British pay. From the commencement of the alarm excited by Napoleon's return, reinforcements had been quickly and unremittingly sent from England ; while the duke of Wellington set out from Vienna to assume the command of the British and other troops dispersed throughout the Belgic provinces : in the latter part of May, the Prussian army, under prince Blucher, arrived in the vicinity of Namur ; and frequent conferences respecting a plan of co-operation took place between these two generals : the Prussians, at the time when operations commenced, could bring about 110,000 men into the field ; but some of their regiments were composed of raw recruits, drawn from provinces lately acquired : while many had even served under the great commander whom they came now to oppose : the disposable forces under Wellington scarcely amounted to 80,000 ; of which about 30,000 were British, and 4000 well-tried German legionaries : the rest were Belgians, Dutch, and Hanoverians, with troops from Brunswick, Wurtemberg, and Nassau. The infantry were formed into ten divisions, and these again into two grand corps ; one under the orders of the prince of Orange, who had his head-quarters at Brain le Compte, on the road from Mons to Brussels ; the other under lord Hill, with his head-quarters at Brussels ; while the reserve of 10,000 men was placed under the gallant Picton : the cavalry, between 12,000 and 15,000 strong, and probably superior to any force of the kind ever brought into the field, was posted, under lord Anglesea, about Grammont, on the British right : the magnificent train of artillery, under its able commander sir George Wood, consisted of 250 pieces ; of which the grand *parc* was at Ghent. Quatre-Bras, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels, was appointed to be the general rallying point by the duke, with a view to communicate with his allies.

Blucher's army, divided into four corps under generals Ziethen, Pirch, Thielman, and Bulow, lined the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse from Charleroi to Liege : at which latter place Bulow's division was posted : Blucher him-

self had his head-quarters at Namur, and his rallying point was Fleurus.

The Austrians, advancing both by the Rhine and the Alps, were as yet far from the line of operations, and the Russians at a still greater distance; but before the end of July the coalition would press with at least 600,000 effective troops on the French frontier: hence the anxiety of Napoleon to strike a decisive blow; since victory at this moment would rally the Belgians round his standard, and give time for the organisation of immense masses in France to oppose the advancing waves of war. Soult had, in the beginning of June, assumed the command of what was called the grand army of the north, with the rank of major-general; and after appealing to the courage and patriotism of French troops, he reviewed the different divisions, and inspected the fortresses. On the fourteenth, Napoleon joined the imperial guard, and took the supreme command: from head-quarters at Beaumont he put forth an address; which, after extolling his generosity in the moment of victory at Marengo, Friedland, Austerlitz, and Wagram, and designating the allies as enemies to justice and the rights of nations, concluding with the following words:—‘for every Frenchman who has courage, the moment is come to conquer or to die.’ His five corps of infantry, not including the imperial and the young guard under counts Friand and Morand, were commanded by generals d’Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Lobau; while four of cavalry, under the orders of Pajol, Excekmans, Kellerman, and Milhaud, were commanded in chief by marshal Grouchy; the whole amounting to more than 130,000 men, with a superb *parc* of 350 pieces of artillery. This army, though far inferior in numbers to the allied forces, enjoyed several eminent advantages over them; for it was exclusively composed of French soldiers; mostly of veterans, trained in warfare, well acquainted with their officers, placing unlimited confidence in their leader, and looking eagerly forward to the splendid rewards which had ever awaited troops that conquered under his auspices.

In the memoirs dictated at St. Helena, Napoleon has himself explained the design or plan of his operations: his intention, as it appears, was to throw himself between the two allied armies; to separate the Prussians from the British; to attack each in detail, with the hope of beating one before it could receive assistance from the other. Calculating on the supposed character of his antagonists, he imagined that the Prussians would be first in the field, while he did not believe

that the British army would make any forward movement until its intire force was assembled; the plan was excellent, had the allies been so far asunder, that either could have been forced to fight before its assailants became exposed to the attack of the other; but in the present case the French were thrown between two large armies, distant only a day's march; each having secure diverging lines of retreat on its own supplies and fortresses, and both having secure concentric lines of retreat also on fortresses, which not only left their communications open, but enabled them, at any time, to unite their forces by a single march.⁹

Having masked his movements and concentrated his troops with his usual skill and rapidity, on the very edge of the frontier, by the evening of the fourteenth, Napoleon crossed its line at daybreak on the fifteenth, in three columns, directing them on Marchiennes-au-Pont, Charleroi, and Chatelet. Some severe skirmishing attended this hostile invasion; for the Prussian general Ziethen, whose division was nearest to the foe, had received orders to dispute the ground; and these were steadily and bravely executed, though not without considerable loss: Charleroi, however, was occupied by the French, who also crossed the Sambre at the other two points: the corps of Reille advanced to Gosselies, while Grouchy, with his cavalry, pushed Ziethen on Fleurus; against which place the centre and right wing of the army, with the imperial guard, under Napoleon in person, was directed: in the mean time, Ney was ordered to lead the left wing, comprising eight divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry, against Quatre-Bras; whence, after having overcome such opposition as might be offered by the Belgians and British, he was to push forward strong outposts on the road to Brussels.

Some time elapsed before prince Blucher obtained any information respecting the emperor's movements in advance: on the morning of the day when he entered Charleroi, the Prussian forces were cantoned over an extent of thirty leagues; and it required two days to assemble them.¹⁰ Intelligence of events arrived at Brussels about six o'clock in the evening; but it was not explicit, and the duke of Wellington did not rely sufficiently on its authenticity to put his army in motion: when the enemy could choose any line of operations, a false movement on his part might be ruinous; preparatory notice for the troops to assemble was immediately given: about eleven, how-

⁹ See United Service Journal for 1834, part i. p. 475.

¹⁰ Memoirs relative to 1815 at St. Helena.

ever, more certain accounts reached his grace; who, with many other superior officers of our army, was at a grand ball given by the duchess of Richmond. Instantly orders were issued, that the garrison of Brussels, which was the nearest disposable force, should move to check the enemy: similar commands were given to the cavalry, artillery, and guards, quartered at Enghien; while other troops, cantoned at greater distances, were directed to move up to their support. Two distinguished highland regiments, the forty-second and ninety-second, were among the first to muster, with alacrity, to the sound of a well-known pibroch, called the 'Camerons' Gathering: they formed part of the fifth division under Picton, who had arrived that very evening at Brussels, and was still to be placed in the battle's front: before daybreak on the sixteenth, all were on their march, full of confidence and courage, toward the scene of expected hostilities; and about seven o'clock, the duke himself, who had waited to receive reports from some distant stations, left Brussels with a numerous staff. The same morning beheld Blücher's troops entering into position along the heights of Bry: and while Ney, with his left wing, was advancing toward Quatre-Bras, Napoleon, leaving d'Erlon's division of 10,000 men near Marchiennes, to serve as a central support, marched with his main body against the Prussians; but he was unable to concentrate his forces, so as to commence the attack, before three in the afternoon: the intire position of his opponents extending about four miles, was occupied by 70,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 252 pieces of artillery; the forces of the assailants being nearly equal; for the corps under Bulow had not yet arrived at the point of concentration from its distant cantonments between Liege and Hannut. The engagement commenced, on the side of the French, by a tremendous cannonade; under cover of which, the third corps, commanded by Vandamme, made a furious attack on the village of St. Amand, which was taken and retaken several times during the action: little more than one-half remaining in possession of the French after several hours of severe fighting: by degrees, the combat extended itself along the whole line of both armies, and Ligny became the scene of a desperate and prolonged contest; being attacked by the fourth corps under Gerard, supported by the guards, with the sixth corps in reserve; while marshal Grouchy, with the cavalry of Pajol, advanced against the extreme left of the Prussians at Sambre. Ligny was assailed and defended with equal intrepidity, being taken and retaken six times, as each party was alternately reinforced from

masses of infantry disposed behind that part of the village which they respectively occupied: nothing could exceed the fury with which the troops of both nations fought; for none ever entertained a more deeply-seated spirit of vengeance than that which animated the French and Prussians at this period: a cannonade on both sides was kept up through the whole afternoon; but in this species of warfare the Prussians suffered most, their masses being exposed on the heights behind the villages; while those of the French were sheltered by the winding valleys of the lower ground. It was now seven o'clock: 500 pieces of artillery, during four hours, had been dealing out destruction; a fierce fire of sharp-shooters had been continually carried on along the whole course of the ravine between the two armies; the villages literally had their streets choked up with slain; but no very serious impression, no general onset, had been made on either side. Blucher waited for the arrival of Bulow or Wellington; but for what Napoleon tarried it is difficult to say: necessity, however, at length impelled him forward; for evening was now closing in; Bulow was advancing; and the British, still in position at Quatre-Bras, were joined every hour by reinforcements; so that if the morning sun had found him engaged at Ligny, his doom had been sealed. D'Erlon's division, therefore, was ordered up; but before it arrived, the whole French guard, supported by a strong force of cuirassiers, was pushed through and round the village, with orders to attack the heights of Bry: promptly and boldly these were executed; and as the Prussian reserves had been despatched to St. Amand, Blucher had no means of repelling the assault but by meeting it with his cavalry: placing himself, therefore, at the head of the sixth lancers, he led them to the charge in the most determined manner; but all in vain: his troops were forced back in great disorder; the French cavalry followed up their success; and the gallant old man narrowly escaped death, or what would have been to his noble spirit worse than death, captivity: his grey charger, a gift of the prince regent of England, was struck by a cannon shot, and fell, just as the Prussian lancers turned away from their steel-clad foes. 'Now, Nostitz, I am lost!' he exclaimed to his aide-de-camp, as he sank beneath the dying steed: his faithful friend, however, did not forsake him; but with admirable presence of mind threw a military cloak over the fallen chief, while their impetuous enemies rushed on without noticing the group. Before count Nostitz could extricate his commander, the French cuirassiers were driven back over the field,

and the whole broken route again passed by them: but the count had seized the bridle of a soldier's horse, and, with the assistance of its rider, he placed the marshal on it, and conveyed him out of danger: he had, however, scarcely effected this, before the enemy advanced again in full force against the central point of the long-disputed position on the heights behind Ligny. This bold attempt was made with great intrepidity: eight battalions of the imperial guard, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, all the reserves of the fourth corps, and a formidable artillery, traversed the village of Ligny, and rushed into the ravine which separates it from the heights: there they began to ascend in face of a constant fire of grape and musketry; but nothing could check their impetuosity; and a dreadful carnage took place when the grenadiers of the guard attacked the Prussian squares at the point of the bayonet: for a considerable time the havoc continued with equal fury on both sides; until the Prussian cavalry was driven back, and a division of French infantry, favored by the darkness, made a circuit of the village unperceived, and took the main body of their opponents in the rear. Though surprised by this movement, the Prussians did not suffer themselves to be disconcerted: formed into masses, they coolly resisted every attack of cavalry, and preserved their line unbroken; but having no reserve at hand to restore the battle, and unable much longer to sustain repeated assaults of superior numbers, Blucher prudently determined on a retreat, for the purpose of joining his fourth corps: he accordingly directed his centre and right wing to fall back on Tilly; and this movement was executed in such a firm, unbroken array, as deterred the enemy from pursuing him beyond the abandoned heights.

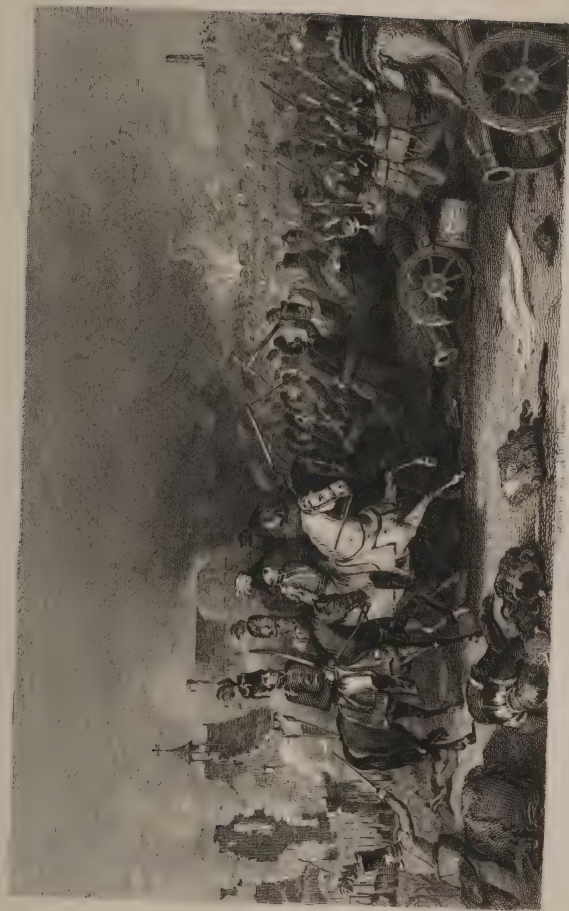
An unsuccessful attempt indeed was made by Vandamme to occupy the attention of the right wing at St. Amand, till the retreat of the centre would have left it exposed to the danger of being surrounded: but Ziethen was too vigilant; and when the centre receded, he fell back also, so as to preserve his communication with it. The village of Bry was retained by the Prussians during the night; and Thielman, who had maintained himself in Sombref against all the efforts of Grouchy, did not quit it till daybreak; when he slowly retired with his third corps on Gembloux, where Bulow had arrived. Napoleon at first thought that the Prussians would endeavor to rally in the vicinity of Namur; but he soon found that Blucher had more judiciously retired on Wavre, in a line parallel with

the retreat which he conjectured the duke of Wellington would have to make from Quatre-Bras; thus preventing what the French vainly anticipated, a separation of the allied armies. Such was the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, as their brave commander observed, 'lost the field, but not their honor:' the measure of advantage, however, which Bonaparte derived from this success, was greatly limited by the unfavorable result of Ney's action on the left.

Here, says an intelligent observer, we come to the first accusation preferred against that intrepid marshal by Napoleon, who charges him with having lost many hours of valuable time, by delaying the attack on Quatre-Bras till three o'clock in the afternoon; though the emperor himself, whose army had a shorter distance to march, only began that on Ligny at the same hour. Ney was at Gosselies on the evening of the fifteenth, and his light troops had advanced to Frasnes: in marching on Quatre-Bras next morning, it is said, he had only eight miles to go: he was opposed by a few of the Nassau light infantry, insufficient to retard his column for an instant; and yet he reached the point of destination, only a short time before Picton's division and the duke of Brunswick's corps came up, after a march of twenty-six miles, from Brussels. 'If,' it is observed in reply, 'we suppose that the French corps were all assembled, closed up, and ready to act, as implied by Napoleon, it would be difficult to account for this delay; but Excelsmans, with some troops of the left wing, was still on the right bank of the Sambre on the morning of the sixteenth; much nearer, certainly, to the scene of action than the British, but not exactly at hand.'¹¹ Excuse also is made for the marshal on account of the badness of the road along which his column was directed, and the difficulty thence occasioned to so large a force of all arms; while the British were, unfortunately for themselves, almost wholly unincumbered with artillery or cavalry: so various, however, and conflicting are the accounts which ascribe errors and confusion to Ney, and to Napoleon himself, on this occasion, that our limits oblige us to pass them over, and confine ourselves to a detail of the actions that really took place.

On the sixteenth, as already has been mentioned, the left wing of the French army commenced its march toward Quatre-Bras, encountering and driving before them some Belgian troops; but the gallant prince of Orange, who had

¹¹ United Service Journal, p. 478.



Dr. H. H. H. H.

received his military education under the great duke, advancing to the support of his advanced posts, reinforced them so as to keep the enemy in check ; for it was of the utmost importance to maintain the position of Quatre-Bras, where the high road from Charleroi to Brussels was intersected by another, which formed a communication with the Prussian line at St. Amand. The large wood of Bossu skirted the Brussels road, on the right of the British ; and a deep hollow way ran in front along the edge of this wood, between which and the French position were several fields of rye grown to its full height : in such a situation, it became a principal object with the enemy to secure the wood, and with the prince of Orange to defend it ; but notwithstanding all his exertions, the Belgians gave way, and a considerable French force occupied the disputed post. At this critical moment, Picton's division, the duke of Brunswick's corps, and shortly afterwards a division of guards from Eughien, came up, and entered into action ; though every effort was used, and too frequently with success, to prevent our regiments from forming into line or square. 'What soldiers are those in the wood ?' said Wellington. 'Belgians,' answered the prince of Orange ; who had not yet learned the retreat of his troops from that important point. 'Belgians !' said the duke, whose eagle eye discerned what had happened ; 'they are French, and about to debouche on the road : they must be instantly driven out :'¹² this difficult task was committed to general Maitland, with the grenadiers of the guards ; who, after sustaining as they advanced, a destructive fire from invisible foes, rushed on with impetuosity ; and having, by desperate efforts, succeeded in expelling their adversaries from the wood, never suffered them to penetrate it again during the rest of the day. Meantime the battle was equally fierce on every other point : Picton's division, stationed near the large farm-house of Quatre-Bras, was exposed to a murderous fire, owing to an advantage which the French possessed, of standing on a rising ground ; while our men, sunk to the shoulders among the tall rye, could not return their volleys with equal precision : they were next exposed, particularly the forty-second regiment, to an unexpected charge of cavalry, whose approach was concealed from them by the character of the ground, intersected with hedges, and covered with heavy crops of rye : squares were rapidly formed ; but two companies of the high-

¹² Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk, p. 103.

landers were intercepted ; and then, many of those brave men were seen standing back to back, in desperate conflict with the surrounding horsemen, until they were at length cut to pieces without mercy. The third battalion of the Royals also particularly distinguished itself : being removed from the centre of the fifth division, it charged and routed a column of the enemy ; after which, it formed a square to receive the cavalry ; and though repeatedly charged by lancers and cuirassiers, never suffered the slightest impression to be made on its ranks ; the undismayed gallantry of the guards was the more remarkable, as they were chiefly young soldiers, volunteers from the militia, who had never been in action before ; and when they attacked the French in the wood, they had been nearly fifteen hours on their march, without food. The daring energy of the French cavalry scarcely could be exceeded : Ney headed them in a general charge, down the causeway leading toward Brussels, with a design of capturing two guns, by which it was commanded ; but they were received with such a galling fire from our infantry, aided by these pieces of artillery, that it could not be sustained ; and the whole road was strewed with men and horses : at this moment, Picton, riding up, ordered his men to advance, for the enemy were giving way : then leading them to the charge, he drove his adversaries from their position with great loss ; while their fugitives, who escaped to the rear, spread a panic even to Charleroi. The action however was far from being decided ; since the British had but few troops in a condition to pursue, though reinforcements were coming fast up : as these arrived, Ney also became anxious for additional forces, and sent to procure the assistance of d'Erlon's division ; but those troops had been previously ordered toward the emperor's army : as the affair of Ligny however was decided before they arrived at that position, they counter-marched toward Frasnes, to succor Ney : but his battle also was then over, and the allies were in quiet possession of the field which they had nobly won, without cavalry or artillery, against an enemy greatly their superior in numbers : thus d'Erlon's troops marched from flank to flank without firing a musket during the whole day. It was calculated that about 35,000 men, including both sides, were killed or wounded in these two engagements : in that of Quatre-Bras, the brave duke of Brunswick fell at the head of his corps, and Picton was wounded by a musket ball which broke two of his ribs, and otherwise severely injured him : this circumstance however

was not known at the time ; for, expecting that another battle was at hand, he divulged the secret to no one but an old confidential servant, with whose assistance he bound up the wound ; and then, with a command over his feelings almost incredible, continued to perform his arduous duties in the field, until a fatal ball at Waterloo happily released him from his sufferings.¹³ The bulletins of the emperor now announced two victories of a brilliant description : ‘Blucher,’ they said, ‘would be heard of no more ; and Wellington, confounded and amazed, was already within the jaws of ruin :’ yet Napoleon had been frustrated in his plan of contending with one army before it could be supported by the other : he had been obliged to engage both ; and had lost on one side as much as he had gained on the other.

The night of the sixteenth was cold and wet ; but the exhausted troops slept soundly on the field of Quatre-Bras : toward daylight some slight skirmishing roused them to arms ; but no enemy was visible, and they proceeded to pay that attention to their wounded which the darkness had hitherto prevented. The defeat of the Prussians was not yet known, as an officer sent with that news to Wellington had been either killed or captured on the way : it was not till seven o’clock that this important information reached head-quarters ; and then it was reported that the Prussian army, united with Bulow’s division, was placed about six leagues in the rear of its former position ; ready to retreat on the river Dyle, in the neighborhood of Wavre. The British, flushed with recent victory, and expecting every moment to be led to new triumphs, were now ordered to retreat for the purpose of regaining communication with their allies, and resuming the plan of co-operation arranged between the two commanders : our old peninsular campaigners knew how often a retrograde movement had been a prelude to victory ; accordingly they bore this disappointment with greater equanimity than the younger, and especially the foreign troops, whose confidence was severely shaken by a retreat immediately following so severe an action as that of Quatre-Bras : but the officers of these corps, who were mostly men of character and family, though they began to despair of the common cause, rallied the spirits of their troops, and set an example of gallant bearing which soon produced good effects : the most un-

¹³ See *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 362 ; where it is asserted that the wound which he received at Quatre-Bras would inevitably have occasioned his death.

pleasant circumstance that had occurred, was the behaviour of some Belgians; who, from wearing the same uniform, injured for a time the reputation of the Dutch forces, and reminded our peninsulars of that 'better part of valor,' which they had seen so often displayed by their Spanish allies.

With spirits thus variously affected by past recollections and passing events, the army commenced its retreat in three columns: the first, under lord Hill, proceeded along the Nivelles road to Braine-la-leude; the second, by the same road, to Halle; and the third, by the Charleroi road, through Genappe, directly on Mont St. Jean. It was about eleven o'clock when the first battalion of the rifles and the second light battalion of the German legion, the last of the infantry, left the ground: our riflemen, in passing through a splendid body of cavalry, not a man of whom they had seen during the battle, could not help indulging in some of their old peninsular jests about 'the followers of the army:' the cavalry however proved next day, that they could well atone for their involuntary absence.¹⁴

At nine o'clock, the duke of Wellington had received a letter from Blucher, saying, that although defeated, he would be ready to take the field again as soon as his troops had been supplied with bread and cartridges: the duke's reply was, that he would accept a battle at Mont St. Jean, in front of the wood of Soignies, if he could rely on the support of two Prussian divisions: the old marshal instantly promised that he would bring up his whole force; and on this assurance, the battle of Waterloo was fixed.

At half-past twelve o'clock, Napoleon learned the real state of affairs at Quatre-Bras: he then determined to join Ney with the main body of his army, leaving Grouchy to follow the Prussians with 31,000 men; a number scarcely equal to Bulow's division, which had not yet been in action. The British retreat was conducted with perfect order and regularity; unmolested, except in one instance at Genappe, where a narrow bridge over a branch of the Dyle can be approached only through a confined street: here an assault was made on our rear by the advanced guard of the French cavalry, consisting of lancers, supported by a great mass of cuirassiers and other troopers; who in turn were attacked by our seventh hussars, with part of the eleventh and twenty-third regiments of light dragoons: the charges made by these troops twice

¹⁴ United Service Journal, part ii. p. 450.

failed ; but the French, in attempting to follow up their success, were assailed by the life-guards, and driven back on the head of their advancing column : the rain now began to descend in torrents, and continued while the troops took up their intended position in front of the forest of Soignies, which all did not reach before eight o'clock : it was still later before Napoleon arrived at the heights of La Belle Alliance ; and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the eighteenth.

Wellington, having made his dispositions for the night, established his head-quarters at a small inn in the village of Waterloo, about a mile in rear of his position : the army bivouacked on the summit of a gentle declivity mostly covered with standing corn ; while the French occupied a ridge nearly opposite, and Napoleon's head-quarters were at Planchenoit, a village in the rear also of his line. Thus arranged, both the commanders and their respective armies waited anxiously for the morn, which was to decide the fate of the French empire : the night, as if the very elements intended to mock the approaching storm of human passions, was dreadfully tempestuous ; while furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, vivid lightning, and echoing peals of thunder, occasioned many a heart to quail, which afterwards stood unmoved the shock of mortal conflict.

The dawn of the ever-memorable eighteenth of June broke slowly and gloomily forth from heavy masses of watery clouds which overhung the horizon : the rain still descended ; and many began to think there would be no battle that day ; it gradually ceased however, as the morning advanced ; and by nine o'clock the weather was clear enough to show the British legions in position to their exulting foe, whose chief could not suppress his satisfaction ; but exclaimed, while he stretched out his arm with a motion as if to grasp his prey, '*Je les tiens donc ces Anglois.*'¹⁵ The battle ground of Waterloo is an open plain, with undulations ; one of the crests of which was occupied by the British position,¹⁶ while the French were similarly posted on the opposite side of the valley, which varies from about 500 to 800 yards in breadth : through the plain, at right angles to both positions, runs the great road to Charleroi, which separated the right of the French, and the

¹⁵ Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk, p. 130.

¹⁶ In the description of the British position, and many of the details of this battle, use has been made of an excellent article in the United Service Journal already alluded to.

left of the British, from their respective armies: it is also traversed by a road leading to Nivelles, which branches off at no great distance from Waterloo. To the left of the Charleroi road stood Picton's division, supported by sir John Lambert's brigade, posted close to the hamlet of Mont St. Jean; and in a hollow, a little farther to the left, was Ponsonby's brigade of heavy cavalry; the extreme left being formed by two brigades of light cavalry on the Wavre road under generals Vandeleur and sir Hussey Vivian.

On the right of the Charleroi road rested the left of the third division under sir Charles Alten, with the household brigade of cavalry under lord Edward Somerset, and some Belgian troops in a second line. To the right of the third division stood the first, under general Cook, composed intirely of British guards, and supported by a body of Nassau troops; the light cavalry in their rear being the brigades of Dorenburg and Arentschild. To the right of Cook, our position took a sweep to the front, and then suddenly fell back to the right: the extreme right, composed of Dutch troops under general Chassé, rested on Braine-la-leude: the second British division, under sir Henry Clinton, and colonel Mitchell's brigades of the fourth division, occupying the intermediate space: in their rear were sir Colquhoun Grant's brigade of cavalry, two squadrons of Brunswick lancers, together with Brunswick infantry in second line: about 15,000 men were left at Halle, twelve miles distance, for the supposed purpose of protecting Brussels, in case the enemy should succeed in turning the right of our army; and these remained stationary the whole day.

An old-fashioned country house, then called the Château Gomont, but now well known to fame as Hugomont,¹⁷ was situated in the hollow, and fronting the junction of Cook and Clinton's divisions: it had on one side a farm-yard, and on the other a large garden fenced by a brick wall; the whole being encircled by an open copse of tall trees, growing on about three acres of ground. This station, to which our commander-in-chief attached such importance that he ordered it to be defended to the last man,¹⁸ was occupied by the light com-

¹⁷ It acquired this name from the mistake of foreigners; the natives laying a stress on the last syllable of Château, and pronouncing the first syllable of Gomont short.

¹⁸ In fact it served as a kind of fortress to prevent the French left from advancing to the Nivelles road, and cutting off general Clinton's division from our main body, so that on this brick building perhaps hung the fate of Europe.

panies of the guards under lord Saltoun, one battalion of Nassau, and one of Brunswickers; the whole commanded by colonel Macdonald of Glengarry, and afterwards by colonel Home: these were supported by the second brigade of guards, under major-general Byng, placed on a rising ground in the rear, so as to preserve a power of reinforcing the garrison. In front of Picton's right and Alten's left, about half-way across the valley, was a little farm-house called La Haye Sainte, occupied by the second light battalion of the German legion; and two hamlets in front of the extreme left, called La Haye and Papellote, were held by some Belgian troops under the young prince of Saxe Weimar. Two villages, called Ter la Haye and Merke Braine, situated on defiles in the rear of our left and right wings respectively, being also occupied, opposed great difficulties to any attempts which the enemy might make to turn our flanks: along nearly the whole extent of the British front was a gentle declivity, which formed in most places an excellent glacis; and behind the whole position was the forest of Soignies, traversed by a broad road to Brussels, with various others branching into it: being free from underwood, and everywhere passable for men and horses, it secured an excellent retreat for our army in case of any serious reverse: and those who thought otherwise, forgot the affair at Quatre-Bras, where not all the efforts of double numbers could drive the British guards out of the wood of Bossu. Twelve miles to the left, but concealed by forests and rising ground, lay Wavre; whence the re-organised Prussian troops marched at daybreak, eager to take a share in the action; but the roads were so deep and miry, that even officers sent forward with intelligence could not, without great difficulty, make their way to the British army.

Great part of the French had passed the night in the village of Genappe: when they were brought into line, the chief command on the left was given to Jerome Bonaparte; and that on the right to count Lobau, who was posted considerably in advance, with the cavalry of general d'Aumont in his rear: this arrangement was made to oppose a Prussian corps which was said to have escaped Grouchy, and threatened to fall on the right flank of the French. Counts Reille and d'Erlon commanded in the centre; while Soult and Ney acted as lieutenant-generals to the emperor; whose principal station during the engagement was at a public house called La Belle Alliance, in advance of the British line, and adjoining the Charleroi road; the imperial guard was in reserve on some heights in the rear.

Accounts respecting the number of forces engaged on each side differ so much, that it is difficult to arrive at the truth: the writer to whom this narrative is so much indebted, estimates the number in our line at 50,000, the lowest hitherto given;¹⁹ and of these only one-half were British, and soldiers of the German legion: '210 guns,' he says, 'were in position and reserve, together with a rocket brigade, which, for reasons not known, only threw a few of its missiles when the battle had nearly closed.' To Napoleon he assigns 75,000 men brought into the field; 31,000 having been detached under Grouchy in pursuit of the Prussians, 20,000 lost in the battles of Ligny and Quatre-Bras, and 4000 left about Fleurus in charge of the wounded: Grouchy's corps was accompanied by 108 pieces of artillery; so that 240 guns were reserved for the grand army. The French troops not only exceeded their opponents in numerical strength, but were the *élite* of the national forces; exulting too in their defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, and their fancied victory over the English at Quatre-Bras: fearful odds against an army composed like that of Wellington! 'One of our best and bravest officers,' says sir Walter Scott, 'confessed to me a momentary sinking of the heart, when, looking round him, he considered how small was that part of our force properly belonging to Great Britain, and the many disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances under which our own soldiers labored. A slight incident however re-assured him; when an aide-de-camp galloped up, and having delivered his instructions, cautioned the battalion of guards along which he rode, to reserve their fire till the enemy were within a short distance. 'Never mind us,' answered a veteran guardsman from the ranks; 'never mind us, sir; we know our duty.' From that moment, my gallant friend said he knew that the hearts of the men were in the right trim; and though they might leave their bodies on the spot, they would never forfeit their honor.'

While the allied troops were preparing breakfast, they heard a cry of 'stand to your arms: the French are moving!' when a large body of cuirassiers swept across the plain with an intent to embarrass their foes as they deployed: a momentary alarm and confusion arose; but the life-guards instantly made a dash at the enemy, who did not wait the shock: and in no part of the day was the inferiority of those cuirassiers to our heavy cavalry more decided, except at the termination of the battle.

¹⁹ Taking the whole of the duke's force at 70,000, he deducts 4000 lost at Quatre-Bras, 15,000 useless at Halle, and 1000 for stragglers and casualties.

The sun was now high in the heavens ; and Napoleon delayed his attack, though every hour was of immense advantage to his antagonists ; since it brought the Prussians so much nearer to their position : nor was Blucher a man to tarry on his march. About half an hour however before noon, when the French artillery was in position, a gun fired from a British battery on the right gave the first signal of battle : the shot, it is said, was aimed with ominous precision ; making a momentary gap in one of the three columns, which prince Jerome had directed against the little grove of Hugomont, and the British position on the Nivelles road : but it arrested not the comrades of the fallen ; for many a lofty head was to be laid low before those brave men would shrink from the fight. When they reached the verge of the grove, a discharge of musketry and artillery on both sides commenced ; the intire post became enveloped in smoke ; and the fire augmenting, like thickening peals of thunder, soon extended itself to the extremities of each line, making the ground tremble for miles around the field : 12,000 men were gradually brought against this important post, the occupation of which by the enemy's artillery would have enabled them to advance into the very centre of the British line : but our men resolutely defended themselves, as in a citadel ; and the loop-holes which had been made in the garden wall enabled them to fire with great precision. The attack of the first division being repelled, the second, under general Foy, rushed on with such impetuosity, that the orchard was abandoned, and the château itself must have been carried, but for the personal prowess of colonel Macdonald, and the intrepid courage of the detachment of guards to which its defence was entrusted : a French officer, followed by a few men, made his way into the court-yard ; but all were there bayoneted ; while the Spanish general, Don Miguel Alava, one of the true heroes of the peninsula, who voluntarily served in this battle on the duke of Wellington's staff, exerted himself, though in vain, to rally the scattered sharp-shooters of Nassau. Owing to the rout of these troops, and consequent occupation of the orchard by the French, Hugomont became, during great part of the engagement, an invested post, indebted for its security to deep ditches and surrounding fences, but still more to the stout hearts of a brave garrison, who kept it in spite of musketry, cannon balls, shells, and flames, till they issued from it triumphantly in the hour of vengeance. Being however thus insulated, the enemy's cavalry were enabled to move round the château in great force for an attack on the British

right wing: our light troops in advance were driven in by their furious charge; and the foreign cavalry, who ought to have supported them, gave way on all sides: the first force that offered a steady resistance was the black Brunswick infantry, anxious to avenge the death of their gallant prince: these troops were drawn up in squares, much like the alternate figures on a chessboard; so that a squadron, pushing between any two, would not only have to sustain their fire on its flanks, but also a discharge in front, from the square that was in the rear: the furious onset of the French troopers seemed as if it would have overwhelmed the small but compact masses opposed to it; but when the Brunswickers opened their steady fire, the advantage possessed by men so disposed was quickly seen: the artillery also, which throughout this eventful day was served with astonishing skill, alacrity, and precision, made dreadful gaps in the advancing squadrons, and strewed the plain with carcasses of men and horses: nothing however could damp the chivalrous ardor of the French, who still pressed onwards in defiance of all obstacles; or if they suspended their attacks, it was but to give opportunities for their artillery to act, which, being only 150 yards distant, directed its point-blank discharges against the almost solid squares. A general officer observed to sir Walter Scott, that one shot struck down seven men of a square near to which he was at that moment; the next was less deadly, for it only killed three:²⁰ yet under such a fire, and in full view of those clouds of cavalry, waiting like birds of prey to rush in through the slightest opening, did these gallant troops close up their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades; resuming with a stern composure that compact array of battle, in which lay the surest means of safety.

After these desperate efforts on the side of the Nivelles road had failed, the rage of battle slackened in this quarter; so that the British again opened a communication with Hugomont, and reinforced its garrison with a detachment of guards, under colonel Hepburn: assaults, however, by the French, were not discontinued during the whole day; but occasionally took place, even while their centre and right were seriously engaged.

The fire of artillery now became furious along the whole line; but the force of the enemy's attack was destined more particularly against our right and centre: small parties of horsemen, suspected to be Prussians, had already been observed

²⁰ Paul's Letters, p. 154.

on the heights of St. Lambert, six miles distant from the French position; and an officer, with a letter announcing Bulow's progress toward the field, had also been intercepted: time therefore was becoming every moment more and more precious to our antagonists. At one o'clock, a movement on the French right gave notice of preparation: it was Napoleon galloping toward La Belle Alliance, to direct an advance from that quarter; and soon afterwards, four contiguous columns of infantry, too close together to be conveniently deployed,¹ marched down the slope against Picton's division, with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* they were supported by two smaller bodies of cavalry, and one of infantry, with thirty pieces of artillery; and the attack was led on by marshal Ney in person. On the left of these masses were some battalions that proceeded to assault La Haye Sainte; while on the French left of the Charleroi road, a large force, composed of Milhaud's cuirassiers, marched against the British centre: 'thus,' says the intelligent writer before quoted, 'at one point of the line, infantry alone were sent to attack infantry, cavalry, and artillery, combined and unbroken; while at another part of the line, cavalry alone were sent on a similar errand!' On the present occasion, the troops advanced with their usual intrepidity: Perponchier's Belgian division fled at the first onset, few waiting even to discharge their muskets; the first battalion of our rifles, therefore, was obliged to give ground before the overwhelming torrent; but they did so fighting bravely, till they fell back on the main body under Picton.

The enemy's columns were now marching close up to the hedge, through which sir James Kempt's brigade impetuously rushed, and was received with a murderous volley: a frightful struggle then ensued, the English trusting solely to the bayonet, although the French fire had so thinned their ranks that they were fighting, each man against five or six antagonists: Picton therefore instantly ordered Pack's brigade to the charge, placing himself at its head, with an exhilarating 'hurrah!' which was enthusiastically returned by his men. The attack to be repelled was, according to the duke's despatch, one of the most serious made by the enemy during this whole day: Picton, who well knew the importance of his presence to ensure success, remained at the head of the line, looking along it, and cheering the men by waving his sword

¹ This was the great and almost always fatal error of the French when engaged with British troops.

when a ball pierced his temple, and the gallant leader of the 'fighting division' fell back on his horse: he was immediately placed on the ground; but all assistance was tendered in vain, for the noble spirit had now fled. In the mean time, the wave of battle passed on, and the contending hosts met; while their leader's animating example had so inspired his troops, that nothing could resist their vigorous onset; and the French columns were thrown so much out of military order by the shock, that they were totally unable to resist the tempest about to burst upon them. It has been already observed, that Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry was posted in a hollow behind Picton's division: their commander now led them on to one of the best-timed charges ever made; for no sooner were the French columns staggered by the fire of our infantry, than, passing through intervals in their line, and wheeling round their left, the royal dragoons, the Scotch Greys, and the Enniskillens, England, Scotland, and Ireland, in glorious rivalry, fell on the foe: the four almost shapeless columns, already broken, were crushed by this terrible onset; the ground was covered with killed and wounded; the artillery was taken; hundreds ran wildly about the field, while our horsemen continued their furious career: many fled even to the British infantry, surrendered themselves, and were preserved behind their ranks as at Vittoria; but 2000 were captured in a body. It was during this conflict that serjeant Ewart, of the Greys, described as a man of gigantic stature, took, single-handed, the eagle of the forty-fifth French regiment;² and another serjeant, named Styles, of the Royals, seized and triumphantly bore off that of the 105th; when two squadrons of his regiment, under colonel Dorville, resolv-

² His own account of this exploit, in a letter to his father, ought not to be omitted:—'It was in the first charge that I took the eagle from the enemy: he and I had a hard contest for it: he thrust for my groin; I parried it off, and cut him through the head; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed his mark, by my throwing it off with my sword on my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards through his teeth: next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who, after firing at me, charged me with his bayonet, but he very soon lost the combat; for I parried it, and cut him down through the head; and that finished the contest for the eagle. After this I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the general, saying to me—'You brave fellow, take that to the rear; you have done enough till you get quit of it.'—which I was obliged to do, but with great reluctance. I took the eagle into Brussels amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators.'

ing not to be outdone by the Greys, plunged into a column of 4000 men. Unfortunately, our splendid cavalry, wild with success, pushed it too far, and rushed impetuously up to the level of the French line; but Napoleon, having perceived the route of d'Erlon's squadrons, had galloped to the spot; and now taking advantage of this rash advance, ordered a strong body of cuirassiers and lancers to attack the British horse: unable to resist so sudden and impetuous a shock, they retreated under a galling fire of artillery and sharp-shooters; when the gallant sir William Ponsonby, leader of the brigade, fell mortally wounded. In the furious charge, sir John Elley, an officer eminently distinguished for personal intrepidity, was at one time surrounded by the cuirassiers; but being a tall and powerful man, completely master of his sword and horse, he cut his way out, leaving several of his assailants stretched on the ground, and marked with wounds indicating an unusual strength of arm. 'Indeed,' says sir Walter Scott, 'if the ghastly evidences had not remained on the field, many of the blows dealt on this occasion would have seemed borrowed from the annals of knight-errantry; for several of the corpses exhibited heads cloven to the chine, or severed from the shoulders.' Among the privates who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one whose name, already known in the records of pugilistic fame, became now intitled to honorable notice in the historic annals of his country; this was Shaw, a corporal of the life-guards, a man of large stature and uncommon prowess, who is reported to have slain or disabled a number of cuirassiers sufficient to have made out a list for one of Homer's heroes: he received innumerable wounds, though none of any great magnitude; and died of exhaustion during the night in pursuit of the enemy.³

The simultaneous attack made by the French cuirassiers on the British centre had no greater success than that against the right wing, though it was attended with comparatively little loss: they were warmly received with round shot and grape from Alten's batteries, as they advanced across the plain; but pressing onward to the slope of our position, they were there charged by lord Edward Somerset's household brigade, and repulsed after a sharp conflict hand to hand: during this time, overwhelming efforts were made by the enemy to gain the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, where they had a glimpse of success; for the Luneburg infantry, being seized with a

³ An affecting account of his death is given in that interesting work, intitled 'Paris Revisited,' by Mr. John Scott, p. 150.

panic, fled precipitately, and broke through the surrounding ranks with only a small loss; but the advancing cuirassiers, overtaking the helpless fugitives, made terrible havoc of them, before they got under shelter: the second battalion of the German legion, however, stationed in the buildings, bravely maintained the post, and kept the whole body of assailants at bay; till the life-guards, having repulsed the cuirassiers, fell on the infantry that surrounded the farm, and nearly exterminated the whole; when its former defenders returned to their station.

It was now about three o'clock, and the intire front of our position was cleared of foes: time was flying, the Prussians were advancing, and no impression had been made by the French attacks; though fresh numbers were still ready to replace those that had been defeated: in the mean time, the fire of artillery continued; its round shot ploughing up the ground on each side, or tearing away files from the close and serried ranks; while shells exploded in every direction. Half an hour had scarcely elapsed before the enemy was again discovered in motion; and a large force of cavalry descended into the plain, formed into four lines, cuirassiers, dragoons, lancers, and hussars: they showed no precipitation; but came on steadily, without being arrested for a moment by our cannon, or the flanking fire of musketry from La Haye Sainte, close to which the right of these new assailants passed: the cuirassiers first ascended the slope in gallant style; and the allied infantry threw themselves instantly into squares to receive them, within which, the artillerymen, having fired grape to the last, sought protection, and found it. The French, not perceiving the advantage of this simple arrangement, and thinking they had captured our guns, raised a shout of victory, which was caught up by their whole line; but it was a short-lived exultation: though the firm aspect of the squares did not at first arrest the advance of their horsemen, and many squadrons galloped forward to the charge, not in a single instance did they preserve their order, or dare to rush on the bristling bayonets: opening out, and edging away from every volley, they sometimes even halted and turned before they received the British fire; when the iron shower rattled on the backs of their coats of mail: thus they flew from square to square, or rode from one side of the compact mass to another, receiving a fire from different squares as they passed, or from each face of the same: some halted, shouted, and flourished their sabres; others rode close up to our ranks;

and many even cut at the bayonets with their swords, or fired their pistols at the officers: but in no instance was any effort made to break a square by a regular charge; not a single leader, daring as many of them were, set the example of dashing boldly at the presented bayonet: but men who continued to brave the fiercest fire of musketry and artillery, shrunk from close contact with that British weapon: the few that fell by the fire of our squares was also a matter of surprise: indeed, so many futile charges on one side could not have been made, if the destroying power of the other had been more considerable. Nor were these contests quietly witnessed by the British cavalry: many partial, and several very gallant charges were made against the assailants, between the squares; and whenever the ridge was cleared for a moment, our incomparable artillerymen sprang to their guns, and their grape-shot rattled again among the hostile ranks: when the foe recovered his ground, the gunners sought their former shelter; but only to fly back to their post when the next opportunity occurred. On one occasion, when this manœuvre had been several times repeated, a French officer, who commanded the attacking cavalry, saved his men, by a noble act of self-devotion, from at least one discharge: as the squadron recoiled, he placed himself singly by the piece, and remained waving his sword, as if to defy any one to approach it, until he was killed by a Brunswick rifleman.

After the judgment shown by our great commander in selecting his position, and disposing of his troops, there was but little room for any display of military science, or complicated manœuvres: the enemy's attacks were unvaried, and our defence the same; they continued to rush against our adamantine front, we to receive and repulse them: again and again did our soldiers prostrate themselves, to let the storm of death-dealing artillery pass over their heads; then, rising, they formed in squares to meet the shock of cavalry; and no sooner were their mailed adversaries driven back, than they deployed into line, to await the approach of heavy masses of infantry. Such a steady and stern performance of duty extorted a reluctant penegyric even from Napoleon himself: 'these English,' said he to Soult, 'fight admirably; but they *must* give way.' Soult, however, who had better experience of their military qualities than his master, replied, 'I think not.'—'Why so?' quickly rejoined Napoleon—'Because they prefer being cut to pieces.' At four o'clock, our position was again clear of enemies; and the French troops, who had been

assaulting La Haye Sainte, fell back amid shouts from the exulting Germans: the battle however still raged about Hugomont, where general Cook was severely wounded; but sir John Byng firmly maintained his post.

Not an inch of ground had yet been lost on the side of the allies; when general Dumond, who commanded the light cavalry despatched to watch Bulow's motions, sent notice that 10,000 men, in full march toward Planchenoit, were about to place the French between two fires: decision now became necessary; and it has been thought that Napoleon ought to have retreated from the field under protection of his still numerous cavalry; but he determined differently. The division under count Lobau, about 7000 strong, which as yet had taken no share in the action, was directed to occupy a position in front of Planchenoit, and by aid of the strong ground between that village and St. Lambert, to arrest Bulow's progress: thus the French army, in its reduced state, was left to perform a task to which, when complete, it would hardly have been found equal: the attack on our left should have been made earlier in the day: indeed, according to the opinion of many eminent men, Bonaparte committed a great error, by obstinately assaulting the strong post of Hugomont, with a loss of nearly 10,000 men in killed and wounded, instead of advancing against the British left, which was the weakest point in our line, because probably the duke calculated on an early support from Blücher: even if the attacks, thrown away against Hugomont, had been directed on our centre, as Wellington himself anticipated, they would have been attended with a much greater chance of success. To such errors Napoleon perhaps alluded in his own bulletin, when he spoke of 'a battle terminated—a day of false manoeuvres rectified—great success ensured for the next day—all lost by a moment of panic terror.'

From the advance of d'Erlon's corps on one side, and of the cavalry on the other, it became evident that the small post of La Haye Sainte could not much longer hold out: accordingly, five battalions were sent to a useless contest with a few hundred men cooped up in a little farm; and then Fortune, being so gallantly wooed, deigned to bestow one melancholy smile on Napoleon's arms: for a full hour the Germans bravely maintained this post; but their ammunition being wholly spent, they were obliged reluctantly to abandon it, and were dreadfully cut up. The French immediately endeavored to make the most of their conquest, and by that mode of warfare in

which they peculiarly excelled ; for swarms of sharp-shooters, collecting about the buildings, from which they made frequent onsets, poured a destructive fire on our decreasing line : bands of *tirailleurs* advanced so close to the front of our third division, that the fifth battalion of the German legion was ordered to charge them ; when the enemy instantly fled ; but a body of French cuirassiers, close behind, attacked the Germans before they could form a square, and made dreadful havoc in their ranks : attempting however to follow up their success, the horsemen were received with a volley from the left of the third division, which occasioned them quickly to draw back : the third regiment of German hussars then advanced to avenge their countrymen, and the French formed to receive these new adversaries, when a short affair at sword's point ensued, without any material consequences ; but an interesting instance of the many single combats which occurred during this memorable day was exhibited in full view of the British line, after the main parties had separated. A hussar on one side, and a cuirassier on the other, had been entangled among retiring foes, and, attempting to gain their respective corps, met in the plain : the former had lost his cap, and was bleeding from a wound on the head : yet he did not hesitate to attack his steel-clad adversary ; when it was soon seen that the strength of cavalry consists rather in good horsemanship and a skillful use of the sword, than in heavy defensive armor : the moment their weapons crossed, the superiority of the hussar was visible ; and after a few wheels, a tremendous stroke on the face made the Frenchman reel in his saddle : all attempts to escape his more active antagonist were vain ; and a second blow stretched him on the ground, amid the cheers of the Germans, who had remained anxious spectators of this trial of skill.

While destructive but indecisive conflicts were still going on at La Haye Sainte and Hugomont, Blucher, in person, had joined Bulow's corps : though suffering from the effects of his fall, that gallant old general had caused himself to be lifted on horseback at break of day, and immediately directed his troops toward Mont St. Jean : three corps had proceeded some distance on their way ; and a fourth, under Thielman, was already moving as a rear-guard, when some light cavalry, appointed to watch the French motions, announced the advance of Grouchy's army toward Wavre : Thielman was instantly ordered to countermarch and defend the passage of the Dyle ; being there left to act according to circumstances, but not to look for any reinforcement till the principal contest should be

decided. The march of the Prussian army was a series of difficulties: the ground was saturated with rain; the rivulets had become torrents; deep pools of water constantly obliged the men to break their files; and the forest roads resembled water-courses, through which they had to wade; while the artillery frequently sank axle-deep into the mud, and had to be worked out by the fatigued soldiers. 'We shall never get on,' was their oft-repeated cry. 'But we must get on!' replied their commander; who was to be seen at every point of this long and tedious line of march: 'I have given my word to Wellington, and you surely will not make me break it! Courage, children, courage, for a few hours longer; and then victory will be ours.'

The thunder of artillery had been long heard in the direction of Mont St. Jean, and officers were constantly arriving with intelligence of the deadly strife going on; but the Prussian troops were still struggling in their impracticable roads, with a certainty of being placed in the most imminent danger if the enemy should prove victorious. At three o'clock news arrived that might have shook the firmest nerves: Thielman was attacked by Grouchy's overwhelming force. Blucher, however, whose moral courage always rose with untoward events, merely replied;—'Tell him to do his best: the campaign of Belgium must be decided at Mont St. Jean; not at Wavre.' The Prussians had been expected to join at one o'clock: it was past four, when two brigades of Bulow's division, with their reserve of cavalry, cleared the passes of St. Lambert, and crossed the swollen rivulet of Lasnes. With this small force Blucher instantly proceeded to attack Lobau's corps, thrown back as it was to cover the right of the French army, in a strong position extending from the heights above Papellote and La Haye, to the woods of Vinere and Hubermont before Planchenoit: thence issued the first sound of the Prussian guns; though little attention was paid to it by the allies, until the attack became more decisive. In the mean time, a cannonade on both sides was kept up with great spirit; and lord Hill sent two brigades from the right to replace those in the British centre, which had been rendered unserviceable: men were falling fast at every point; and the confusion in the rear, from runaways, wounded men, and dismounted dragoons, was terrific: the Hanoverian hussars of Cumberland were carried off the field by their colonel in direct violation of orders; while Perponchier's Belgian division, routed at the first onset by d'Erlon's corps, never appeared again as a col-

lected body ; but not a single British battalion was shaken for a moment : confusion was behind them, and destruction raged in their front ; yet these men stood firm as rocks on their native coast amid the foaming billows : the battle however depended not so much on military skill as on the power of endurance : this trial was in favor of those who heard the guns of their allies, and knew that the hours of their enemy were numbered.

About five o'clock, Milhaud's cuirassiers, with the light cavalry of the guard, returned to the ridge ; the cuirassiers of Valmy were sent to support them, and the reserve of the guard is said to have followed without orders : the charges, or rather feints of charges, against our squares were repeated ; but with no more determination or success than attended them in the previous part of this contest : from the cavalry our allied infantry lost but few men in these attacks ; though the intimacy of the soldiers with their steel-clad visitors is said to have increased so much toward the end of the day, that they began to recognise their faces : confiding in their panoply, the French horsemen walked their steeds round the ranks, as if to search for a chasm, while musket-balls rattled against their armor : at length, general orders were given to fire at the horses ; and when they fell, the riders generally surrendered themselves, and were received into a square until they could be sent to the rear ; a generosity which was very ill requited this day ; for the French spared few lives which it was in their power to take ; and the instances of atrocious conduct toward their wounded prisoners were so numerous, that the old revolutionary spirit seemed to be revived, and murder was again the sport of fiends in human shape. No brigade was more subject to the visits of the cuirassiers than that of general Halket : unable to break through his squares by force, a French colonel attempted to effect this object by a *ruse-de-guerre*, and lowered his sword to the British general. Several of the officers called out ; 'Sir, they surrender.'—'Stand fast, and fire,' was the reply of their experienced commander, who justly suspected an offer made by a strong body of cavalry, which had the option of retreat into the open plain ; and the promptly obeyed order sent the cuirassiers about, as usual, with a laugh of derision from those whom they meant to cut in pieces. This gallant brigade was honored also with several visits from our illustrious commander in chief : in one of these, he inquired, 'how they were?' and received an answer, implying that two-thirds of their number were down, and the rest so exhausted that per-

mission to retire for a short time was earnestly requested, while some of the foreign corps who had not suffered took their place in the line: general Halket, however, was told, that the issue of the battle depended on the unflinching front of British troops; and that even a change of place, under present circumstances, was extremely hazardous. 'Enough, my lord,' was the impressive reply; 'we stand here till the last man falls.' A moment's respite was requested also for the survivors of the thirty-third regiment: 'Impossible,' said the duke again; 'everything hinges on the firm countenance of the British: they must not move.' The ninety-fifth, being in front of the line, was threatened with a formidable charge of cavalry; when his grace, riding up, roused every martial feeling, by one short but energetic appeal:—'Stand fast, ninety-fifth: we must not be beaten: *what would they say in England?*' nor was there a man that heard him who did not that moment resolve to perish rather than to yield.

Wherever our squares were exposed to the fire of artillery, the loss was naturally very heavy: on one or two points, they lay under the discharge of musketry; and the twenty-seventh regiment was nearly destroyed in such a situation; but the soldiers in the most undaunted manner stepped instantly into the places where their comrades fell: fortunately, the enemy did not possess, or neglected the art of combining infantry and cavalry attacks; otherwise the result might have proved very disastrous.

While the contest was thus carried on along our line, the French drove the Belgian troops from Papellote and La Haye, and fancied that they had thus cut off the Prussians from the British; but their possession of these hamlets did not retard the advance of the former for a single moment: yet Napoleon had a strong necessity for checking them; since they were now rapidly pressing on his right; and the shot from their artillery already crossed the Charleroi road, to the great terror of the enemy's rear. The concluding scene of this sanguinary drama was indeed fast approaching: the battle was once more reduced to skirmishes round La Haye Sainte and Hugomont, with a distant cannonade from the lines; and during this comparative state of inaction, several of our corps moved toward their left, in order to concentrate the allied forces; while the Brunswick troops were sent to support our third division, and some of Chassé's Dutch regiments came forward into the front: every nerve was now to be strained for the defence of a point over which the fiercest storm of battle was about to burst for the last time.

The Prussians were already forming in large masses, and the thunder of their artillery was constantly increasing: the British remained unshaken; the day was drawing to a close; and the time for half measures was gone by. Napoleon had still materials for checking his new foes, and achieving a retreat, by aid of his old guard, 8000 strong, which had not yet taken any part in the conflict; but it must have been with the certainty of an attack next day by the combined British and Prussian armies: besides, he had no resources to which he could look forward, except a reunion with Grouchy; while Russian armies were advancing on the Rhine by forced marches, and the republicans of Paris were agitating schemes against his authority: he saw that his fate was to be decided on the ensanguined field where he now stood; a desperate effort for victory, before the Prussians could act effectually, might possibly drive the English from their position; and he determined to venture on the experiment. About seven o'clock, movements along the French line gave signs, that this last and decisive attack, which the circumstances of the battle rendered inevitable, was about to be made on the British centre; and as general Ziethen's troops were close at hand, the two brigades of cavalry, under Vivian and Vandeleur, which had been judiciously stationed at the extreme left, were brought up to the threatened point. While the first of these, consisting of three fine unbroken regiments, advanced along the ridge, the second, which had been partially engaged, moved in the hollow to the right, where the rest of the cavalry were assembled: in the mean time, the British infantry were drawn up in files four deep;—'a sacrifice,' it is affirmed, 'of half their strength, made for no object whatever;'⁴ a wrong tribute to the ill-deserved fame of French columns.

The imperial guards were now formed into columns of attack, under Napoleon's own eye, near the bottom of the declivity at La Belle Alliance: each column was composed of three battalions; one in line, supported on its flanks by the others in close order; two of which advanced, with nearly equal front, and artillery in the intervals, while a third was in the rear: count Reille was ordered to form the remains of his corps also into columns, and advance on the left of the guards; while d'Erlon supported them with similar masses, which were to issue from behind La Haye Sainte: but failure was impressed on the very formation of this enterprise: for as the previous

⁴ United Service Journal, August, 1834, p. 471.

attacks of cavalry had been unaided by infantry, this of the imperial guards was destitute of cavalry: the whole was placed under the command of the intrepid Ney; who, as well as the soldiers, was made to believe that the fire of Ziethen's guns proceeded from the army of Grouchy, which had fallen on the rear of the Prussians. A renewed roar of artillery announced the approach of this tempest; and loud acclamations greeted the emperor, as he led his guards in person to the brow of the hill at La Belle Alliance, and, pointing with his hand to the British position, exclaimed,—‘There lies the road to Brussels.’ Never did any army take the field with more devotion for their leader; and he, knowing the extent to which this feeling prevailed, unrelentingly employed its energies, as long as he could hope to grasp the prize he aimed at by the blood of his victims: the first columns that came up beat back the foreign troops on the left of our third division, and fell impetuously on the remnant of Halket's gallant brigade; whence a close and continued roll of musketry spread rapidly toward the British right, as the guard prolonged the attack of d'Erlon's corps: these veterans were supported by a well-sustained fire of round and grape-shot from their own artillery; to avoid which our men had been ordered to lie down on the ground, near the summit of their position: but no sooner did the advancing columns approach toward point-blank distance, than the laconic address of the great commander was heard:—‘Up, guards, and at them!’ and so instantaneously was this order, which had been most anxiously expected, now obeyed, that it seemed as if the very earth had suddenly cast forth an armed host: there must have been an indescribable terror in the uprising of those undaunted troops on the spot where all had laid themselves down with a resolution to conquer or to die! but the imperial grenadiers had little time to contemplate the scene; for a close discharge of musketry mowed down their front ranks, and so galled the whole column, that it halted to return the fire: this act however fixed its doom; for the fifty-second and seventy-first regiments, with some companies of the ninety-fifth rifles, who had suffered but little previous loss, had been stationed in a hollow to the right of the guards, where the position took a bend toward the front: these troops had only to advance with right shoulders forward, in order to come directly on the French flank; which movement was ordered, and promptly executed. The whole world did not contain braver men than those of the imperial guard; but none of earthly mould could sustain the murderous fire

with which they were now assailed in front and flank; the artillery being so accurately served, that whole files were annihilated as fast as they came within its range: their heroic leader, Ney, had his horse shot under him; yet he continued at the head of his troops on foot, exhorting them to retrieve the honor of the day: but the old peninsular shout of victory, rising from the light division as it pressed the shattered ranks of its opponents, was caught up, and echoed through the British line: this was immediately succeeded by a general order to advance; and the enemy fled in consternation from the British bayonet. At the very time when our light brigade was advancing against the enemy's leading columns, sir Hussey Vivian descended into the plain, and defeating a body of cavalry that obstructed his advance, proceeded instantly to attack the cuirassiers posted between the protecting squares of their rear-guard: the French cavalry were quickly routed; and our infantry, having free scope to act, followed up their success in complete security. Just as the allied army deployed into line for the last decisive charge, the setting sun, which during the day had been hid by lurid clouds, streamed out in a red glare of light; and his latest rays fell on a vast mass of fugitives, crying out,—‘All is lost; the guard is driven back!’ while they rushed over the field in irremediable confusion, and trampled down those who were still endeavoring to keep their ranks. The outrageous cruelties perpetrated by the French soldiers during the late series of engagements were now terribly repaid: after our infantry had wholly shattered the opposing ranks, the cavalry took up the pursuit as far as their tired horses would carry them; and at this time the gallant earl of Uxbridge, whose white plumes and gorgeous steed, as he rapidly visited different positions, strongly brought the image of Murat to the minds of the French soldiers, received a shot which deprived him of his leg. While, on the right, our horsemen were thus seen driving the living masses; on the left as far as the eye could reach, hill and plain were covered with Prussian troops; thousands of whom had only arrived in time to witness the overthrow of a gigantic military force, which buried in its fall the empire raised by its own valor: but if ever the character of avengers became an army, it was now; for what nation had ever suffered such insults and injuries from another, as Prussia had received from France? Moving in oblique lines, the pursuing armies came into contact with each other, beyond the heights so lately occupied by the French. At or near to Genappe, Wellington and Blucher met, and

briefly congratulated each other on a victory far more disastrous to the vanquished than that of Austerlitz; and it was then agreed, that the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh, should follow up the success which had been so gloriously gained. Some little time before this meeting the conqueror had been advised by colonel Harvey to desist from pursuit, as the country was growing less open, and he might be fired at by stragglers from behind the hedges; and his answer was—‘let them fire; the battle is won; and my life is of no value now.’ When he retraced his steps over the field of battle in the dead of night, he had leisure to calculate the price of his victory, mournfully proclaimed by the groans of wounded and dying men: the ground was literally drenched with human blood; and a bright moonlight fearfully exhibited all the horrors of the scene: can we wonder then, that the duke, forgetting the exultation of victory, yielded to the impulse of manly sympathy, and deplored them in tears? ‘My heart is almost broken,’ he exclaimed, ‘by the terrible loss I have sustained of my old friends and companions, and of my poor soldiers.’

Toward the end of the battle, Napoleon, with Soult, Drouet, Bertrand, Gourgaud, and some others, were sitting on their horses, covered by one of their few remaining squares, when the duke of Dalmatia pointed out the approach of our cavalry, who were not many hundred yards from the spot. It is said, that the emperor made some exclamation about dying on the field of battle; but if he uttered such words, he was content with the heroism of the speech; for Soult, observing in reply, ‘that the enemy were fortunate enough already,’ seized his horse’s bridle, and turning its head to the rear, left Napoleon to his own instinct, for escaping the sabres of the British troopers. At Genappe, the fugitives made an effort to obstruct the pursuit by barricades; but the Prussians, forcing them in a moment, obtained possession of Bonaparte’s carriage, which he had just quitted to mount on horseback: disorganisation and terror were now at their height; the French were driven from place to place by the very sound of the Prussian drum or trumpet; and in some instances they were slaughtered like sheep, without resistance, leaving a large number of prisoners, with nearly 150 pieces of artillery, in the hands of their pursuers: 150 had been already taken by the British on the field of battle. Our own loss was very great: 100 officers slain, 500 wounded, and 15,000 privates in one list or the other, was the high price paid for this glorious and decisive

victory: on the French side, scarcely half Napoleon's army was ever again collected under its standards: the emperor, the direction of whose flight lay through Quatre-Bras, Gosselies, and Charleroi, recrossed the Sambre at five o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth; and continuing his route to Laon, made instant provision for the safety of that great arsenal: having then expedited orders for the corps of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the west, to converge toward the capital by forced marches, he left Soult to collect the scattered wreck of Waterloo.

On his arrival at Paris, his first act was to convene a council of state; in which he proposed 'the elevation of himself to a temporary dictatorship, in order that he might repair national disasters at the head of his army.' His counsellors, however, knowing the temper of the two chambers, and the inability of 60,000 troops to sustain the shock of confederated Europe, preserved a solemn silence, until he urged them to speak freely: Carnot then advised that the tocsin of the old republic should be sounded, the country declared in danger, every Frenchman called on to arm against a foreign foe, and the capital placed in a state of siege; that in the last extremity, they should retire behind the Loire, re-organise the army, and raise the whole population: this advice, however, was overruled by the suggestions of Fouché, who was in close correspondence with the allied commanders: in the mean time, the two chambers had hastily met; and being aware of what was projected by the emperor, passed a resolution, that any attempt to dissolve them should be considered an act of high treason; it was also voted, that four of the ministers should be summoned, to explain their master's views and intentions. Napoleon, alarmed at this usurpation of authority, sent his brother Lucien, a man of great energy and talent, with the ministers; and the day passed in altercations, irritating to both parties concerned: at length, perceiving that he had wholly lost the confidence of the national representatives, and that nothing remained for him but to trample on the chambers or to abdicate his throne, he chose the latter alternative; remarking, 'that Frenchmen, like the degenerate race of the lower empire, were disputing, while the enemy was at their gates.'

On the morning of the twenty-second, the emperor's act of abdication in favor of his son, dictated by himself, and written by Lucien, was presented to the chambers, who accepted it generally, without any recognition of his successor: a pro-

visional government was then appointed by ballot, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette; while five commissioners, at the head of whom was count Sebastiani, were nominated, for the purpose of carrying proposals of peace to the allied armies: these proceeded to Laon; but neither the British nor Prussian general had any inclination to treat with them; and they were directed to the head-quarters of confederated sovereigns at Manheim. The last act of Napoleon's public life was a farewell address to his army; after which, he retired to Malmaison.

The allies had now come to a determination of entering into a treaty only at the gates of Paris; and on the twenty-first of June, their armies passed the boundaries of France. From Malplaquet, the duke of Wellington addressed a proclamation to the people, announcing that he entered the country, not as their enemy, but to oppose the usurper, that foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce. During his advance, the strictest military discipline was enforced: on the twenty-third, he sent a detachment against Cambray, which was taken without much loss, by escalade; and Louis XVIII. soon removed from Ghent to that city. The march of the allied armies now became one continued triumph; Avesnes, Peronne, and other towns, either opening their gates, or being reduced after a slight resistance: Soult, indeed, who had collected 4000 men near Laon, was there joined by the army under Grouchy and Vandamme, who had skilfully effected a retreat from Wavre: at Villars Coteret, a contest took place between those forces and the Prussians, under general Ziethen; when the former, being repulsed, with a loss of fourteen pieces of cannon, precipitately retreated on Paris. The British crossed the Oise on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth, at which time Blucher passed the Seine at St. Germain; their plan being to invest the capital on two sides, for the heights about the city were strongly fortified; while about 50,000 regular troops, beside the national guards and Parisian volunteers, were engaged in its defence; all under the command of marshal Davoust. Two deputations had been previously sent to the head-quarters of the allies to propose a suspension of arms; but the only answer returned was, that 'none would be granted while Napoleon was in Paris, and his person free:' he was at this time at Malmaison; and having come to a resolution of seeking an asylum in America, had made application for two frigates, then lying at Rochfort, to convey him thither: the request however did not suit the

views of Fouché and the provisional government; who put off his departure under various pretences, and at length set over him a guard under the orders of general Becker. As the Prussians approached, the fire of Napoleon's character was rekindled, and he persuaded Becker to convey a note to the government, offering to resume the command of the French army, and take advantage of Blucher's rash advance: 'Tell them,' he said, 'that I will crush the Prussians, and then retire.' This offer was conveyed to the members of government, and Carnot advised them to accept it: but Fouché's opinion prevailed; and that intriguer, being alarmed at the emperor's contiguity to the French troops, gave the necessary orders, by which he was permitted to leave the country: on the evening therefore of the twenty-ninth, Napoleon, having taken a last farewell of his mother, sister, and some other relatives, hastened toward Rochfort. Blucher did not establish himself on the left of the Seine without considerable opposition: after a gallant struggle around the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon, the French, with about 10,000 infantry, made a desperate attack on his troops at Issy, which lasted several hours; but in the end they were repulsed: finding then that Paris was open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was established between the two armies by a bridge which Wellington had erected at Argenteuil, and that a British force was moving toward the pont de Neuilly, they sent a flag of truce with a view to the present cessation of hostilities: a communication having been then opened between the blockading armies, proposals were made for this purpose; and a capitulation was concluded on the third of July at St. Cloud, between the two allied commanders on one side, and the prince of Eckmühl on the other. By its stipulations the French troops were to commence their march next day towards the Loire, and within three days to evacuate the capital; the fortified posts and barriers of which were to be placed in the hands of the allied forces, while the national guards and municipal gendarmerie undertook the internal duty of the city: the *eleventh* article of this convention stipulated, that public property, except what related to war, should be respected; and the *twelfth* guaranteed the rights and liberties of all persons remaining in the metropolis; who were not to be called to account, either for the situations which they might have held, or for their conduct and political opinions. In 1814, Louis XVIII. had been placed on the throne conformably with the expressed wishes of the nation; he was now to be reinstated

solely by a foreign force ; for that long contest, which Madame de Stael designated as a conflict 'between a man and a system, each equally hostile to liberty,' was completely terminated : the circumstances, however, under which this monarch resumed his crown were such as necessarily produced irritation among the larger portion of his subjects : being intirely in the hands of foreign forces, and scarcely more than nominal sovereign of a country distracted by party and humiliated by defeat, it is not surprising that his measures were at first fluctuating, or that his councils underwent frequent change : a system however of moderation generally adopted, together with an integrity of purpose and an extensive knowlege of mankind, enabled him to counteract the machinations of discontent, and to ward off from his own head that storm which burst over his tyrannical, priest-ridden successor. The principal source of irritation lay in the army, which it became necessary to dissolve, as a dangerous instrument in the hands of faction, and to replace it by a new force collected on national principles : the discontent however thus carried into society by the disbanded troops was greatly augmented by what has been sometimes deemed a severe act of resumption on the part of the allies : the galleries of the Louvre were now stripped of those trophies of victory which, while they diffused over the nation a taste for the fine arts, tended also to keep alive that spirit of conquest which it was so desirable to extinguish : restitution therefore of these precious articles was demanded ; for it was said, whether they had been ceded in lieu of contributions, or for the purpose of obtaining more favorable terms of peace, they were the actual fruits of victory, and were now as fairly reclaimed as they had been previously extorted from their possessors : nor could any allegation have been more just and equitable, if public property had not been guaranteed to France by the treaty just concluded : it is true indeed that mention was made of these works of art by the French commissioners, who requested that they might be particularly specified in the eleventh article ; and that this application was rejected by the allied commanders : still the exception did not appear, as it ought to have appeared, in the convention ; and the 'moral lesson,' which was intended to be impressed on the French people, lost great part of its effect.

Many and anxious conferences took place, before the powers engaged in congress announced the conditions on which France was permitted to retain her station among the European nations : on the twentieth of November however the second

treaty of Paris was concluded; when an adjustment of boundaries was made by a cession to the allies of Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with their environs, as far as the Lauter; also of that part of Savoy in Italy which had hitherto been retained. The fortress of Muningen was to be demolished; the northern and eastern frontier of France, with eighteen fortresses, to be occupied by 150,000 allied troops, at the cost of the French government, for a period not exceeding five years; while, as a remuneration for the expenses of the war, France was called on to pay, at fixed periods, a sum of seven hundred millions of francs, not including the claims of individuals; a prohibition of the slave-trade was also inserted, though the insertion has but very lately produced any effect.

An aristocracy of leading powers was now diplomatically formed in the restored system of Europe; and in order to give the highest possible sanction to their policy, religion was invoked to its aid: hence the origin of that Holy Alliance, for the preservation of peace and legitimacy, avowedly on the basis of christianity, which was concluded by the three monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and gradually joined by the other European states; England not acceding formally to its stipulations, though she acknowledged its leading principles. Our ministers, indeed, when the nature of this phenomenon became a subject of discussion in parliament, affected to treat it lightly, as if it had been rather a speculative fancy of well-meaning visionaries than a practical plan of designing statesmen: but there were not wanting those who viewed it in a very different light; apprehending serious consequences from a combination of military and despotic chiefs, for the purpose of maintaining a state of things undefined to the world, and this at the very moment of their victory over the last remains of the French revolution. Whether any of these apprehensions have been realised, we shall have future opportunities of discovering: certainly, as Heeren has observed, 'one great difficulty in the way of its beneficial operation was, the defective nature of popular rights on the continent, which leaves several of the most important questions undetermined; such, for instance, as that touching the propriety of intermeddling with the affairs of foreign states:'⁵ besides, the conduct of Russia regarding Poland, and that of Austria toward the Italian provinces, justly cast a shadow of suspicion on the sin-

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 441.

cerity of its principal confederates: no such union, however, could repress the great antagonist principle of popular freedom, whose struggles soon made themselves felt in the social system; while the character of many continental states, such as Turkey, Spain, and Naples, gave frequent opportunities for the exercise of its powers: the condition of Great Britain, which had risen to an unparalleled height of grandeur, by the steady cultivation of that principle, seemed a sanction to others in imitating her example; and as if this were not sufficient excitement, the state of America was ever present to the heated imagination of its votaries; since one-half of that vast country proclaimed the triumph of republicanism, while the other was engaged in breaking the manacles of ancient despotism with every prospect of ultimate success.

France, being placed under military occupation, could not exert much influence at present on the continental union; while the experiment of a new constitution was naturally calculated to soothe for a time the troubled spirit of its volatile population. Louis XVIII., under a vivid recollection of recent events, seemed disposed to adopt a popular government: the sagacious Talleyrand was made minister for foreign affairs; baron Louis being placed at the head of the finance department: marshals St. Cyr and Macdonald were promoted respectively to the ministry of war and command of the army; while Fouché, who had openly avowed a secret correspondence with the duke of Wellington, was rewarded with the ministry of police: the disposition however with which this cabinet began its administration soon experienced a change, which was indicated by the issue of two ordinances: the first of these declared that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Napoleon Bonaparte, had forfeited their dignity; the second exhibited the names of many officers who, having taken part in the late acts of that usurper, were ordered to be arrested and tried before a court-martial; while others were directed to withdraw into the interior, and wait there until their fate should be determined on. The duc de Richelieu now succeeded Talleyrand as first minister, Des Cazes was appointed to the police department, and Barbé-Marbois to that of justice. Labedoyère, the first officer of high rank who had joined Napoleon after his return from Elba, was tried, condemned, and executed; when Ney and Lavallette were selected as the next victims, and received a similar sentence of condemnation. The arrest and trial of the 'bravest of the brave' gave rise to much animated discussion both in

France and other countries: few indeed could be found, except those blinded by political prejudices, who did not acknowledge the extraordinary perfidy of the man; though many ascribed it to his irresolute character rather than to deliberate baseness: but it was argued by the marshal's friends, that the terms of the convention were so full and explicit, as to signify a general amnesty; since they expressly stated that 'all individuals resident in Paris at the time of its capitulation should enjoy their rights and liberties, without being called to account for situations which they might have held, or for their *conduct* and *political opinions*:' a different view however was taken of this question by the partisans of government; who proceeded on a distinction of *military* and *political* conduct; and when the duc de Richelieu, addressing the chamber of peers, demanded the condemnation of the accused 'in the name of Europe,' Ney, who rested his defence on the twelfth article of the capitulation, naturally appealed to the ministers of the four great powers to confirm his view of the subject. The opinion of Wellington seems to have been a guide to the rest; and the answer sent by his grace to a note addressed to him by the marshal was couched in the following terms:—'that the capitulation of Paris related exclusively to its military occupation; and that the object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any person in Paris, on account of their conduct or political opinions; but it never was, nor could be intended to prevent, either the then existing French government, or any French government which might succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might think proper.'

No rightly-constituted mind can notice, without feelings of indignation, the calumnious reflections that were cast on the duke of Wellington by political adversaries, on account of this interpretation; as if the conqueror of Napoleon could have been influenced by any jealousy or pique towards an individual, immeasurably his inferior in all the qualifications of a general, except that of personal courage! No one can have studied the character and conduct of our illustrious commander without perceiving that a plain, straight-forward honesty is one of its distinguishing characteristics. The interpretation which he gave to the twelfth article was undoubtedly that which he had in his own mind when the treaty was drawn up; probably, also, the same view was taken of it by the other high contracting party: still it is greatly to be lamented that his grace did not accompany his interpretation with a

recommendation, or rather a demand, that the life of Ney should be spared. The terms of that article are as general as it is possible to conceive:⁶ it was the height of injustice therefore in the French government to limit them by a particular restriction, for the purpose of taking away the life of an accused person: both the exception of military conduct, and the restriction of indemnity to the military occupation of the capital, ought to have been specified in the article; otherwise it was merely a trap to catch unwary victims; and as it was the inadvertency of the military diplomatists which threw this power into the hands of government, their conduct would have barely amounted to an act of common generosity, if they had taken on themselves the blame of an involuntary error, and requested the correction of it by a general amnesty: that such an appeal would have been successful, there can be no doubt; for the desire of revenge must have given way to a sense of dependence, as well as of obligation. The odium which this transaction cast on the English character in Paris was seasonably counteracted by the humane interference of sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and captain Hutchinson in the affair of Lavallette: condemned by the same policy which sacrificed Ney,⁷ and liberated from prison the evening before his execution by the devotion of his heroic wife, he was long concealed from the emissaries of police by these generous strangers; and finally conducted over the frontiers, through a series of difficulties and dangers which it would be hard to match even in the works of fiction: the name of the duke of Dalmatia was included in the list of those placed under strict surveillance, to await the decision of the chambers whether they were to be sent out of the country or given over to the tribunals. Soult published a pamphlet in his own defence; but a decree of January, 1817, ordered him to retire beyond the Rhine. A different fate awaited Murat, who once held so distinguished a rank among the French marshals: in a rash attempt to recover his kingdom, he was taken prisoner, and tried by a Neapolitan court-martial; which, having con-

⁶ The words are 'conduct and political opinions:' the commonest understanding will at once perceive how different the meaning of this article would have been, if it had stood thus: 'political conduct and opinions.' Can any one suppose, that in this case, Ney would have remained in Paris?

⁷ It is by no means intended to vindicate the conduct of Ney and Lavallette: such perfidy was worthy of exemplary punishment, if it could have been equitably administered,

demned him to death, by one of his own laws, ordered sentence to be put into immediate execution: he behaved on this sad occasion with his usual intrepidity, and refused to have his eyes bandaged: then placing on his breast a miniature of his wife, he received six balls through his head, and died instantaneously. His character as a man was at variance with those principles which Napoleon required from his dependent sovereigns. 'Your first duty is to the emperor, your second to your subjects;' was the despot's stern injunction: but Murat, like his brother-in-law, the ejected king of Holland, had a regard to his coronation oath, and strove to reverse the order of these duties; he not only conferred many benefits on his people, but was extremely generous and hospitable in his intercourse with foreigners; so that under his government, Naples rose from a state of wretched barbarism to a respectable rank among European nations.

But where, during these transactions, was the chief cause of so much slaughter in the field and of diplomacy in the cabinet? Napoleon, as already has been stated, arrived at Rochfort, with the intention of seeking an asylum in the United States; but, when about to set sail, he found the port strictly blockaded. As the allied commanders had refused a safe conduct for him to the provisional government, and our cruisers could not be eluded, he determined to place himself voluntarily in the hands of their commodore, throw himself on the mercy of England, and sue for life and liberty to that people whom he had so often denounced as enemies of the human race: accordingly, after some preliminary negotiations with captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, he went off with his suite in a brig, and was put on board that ship on the fifteenth of July: thus, it has been observed, an Englishman first showed that he could be conquered, at Acre; an Irishman put a period to his ambitious career; and a Scotchman received him into captivity. From the cabin of a British man-of-war, he addressed a letter to the prince regent, declaring 'that he came, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of our nation, and to place himself under the protection of its laws:' as his case, however, bore very little comparison with that of the great Athenian, his letter was disregarded; so that when the *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay, and subsequently at Plymouth Sound, he was not permitted to land on the British shores. In the mean time, multitudes arrived from all quarters to obtain a sight of this mighty conqueror, reduced to seek protection under the only European flag which never had been

lowered before him; nor can it be denied that a considerable degree of interest and pity was excited for the fate of one who had fallen from so high a pinnacle of fame, when the illustrious captive was transferred to the Northumberland; which set sail for St. Helena on the eighth of August. Against this sentence of banishment Napoleon entered an energetic protest, denying that he was a prisoner; since he had surrendered himself to the protection of the British laws, which he had never violated; and of the British government, to whose jurisdiction he was not amenable. The disposal of his person by the government of that day is an open question, which has been, and will be, variously judged: condemned by the fearlessly generous, vindicated by the unscrupulously prudent, it never can be seriously maintained, that the mere punishment or mortification of Napoleon was contemplated; but rather the security and peace of Europe against one who might be reckoned 'an enemy of the human race,' and therefore excepted from the general law of nations; and it would have done no credit to the character of those statesmen by whom his destination was fixed, if they had granted to him a title or a residence which might have encouraged hope in his adherents after such a profuse expenditure of blood and treasure. But whatever might be thought respecting the question of justice or injustice, that does not rest with Great Britain alone; for before the battle of Waterloo, it was stipulated between the allied powers, that if Napoleon should be captured, he was to be considered as the common prisoner of the confederates, not of that power by whose troops he might be taken; that he should not be confined in prison, or suffered to reside in the European or continental dominions of any one of those powers; but be sent to St. Helena, and there remain, with only such restrictions as might be judged necessary to prevent his escape.

The subsequent period of the ex-emperor's life was spent in a manner little calculated to secure the respect either of his contemporaries or of posterity: it was sedulously reported that he had to endure many studied indignities; but there is no just cause to credit such assertions. Not only were all his wants carefully supplied, but the conveniences and luxuries of life were abundantly procured for him: his fancies were humored in every particular consistent with security; and even the sentinels posted round his residence were studiously kept out of view: but his days were spent in quarrelling with sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island; and in

giving vent to the bitterest reproaches against that personage : not a day passed without a long list of complaints ; and the preparation of memorials, petitions, and remonstrances seemed to be adopted as a method of passing the time. Sir Hudson persisted in showing him attention and courtesy, till his civilities were thrown back with insult ; and if some degree of moroseness was afterwards perceptible in that officer, it could be no matter of surprise to those who knew how deeply he was impressed with the responsibility of his station, and what indefatigable plotters of mischief lurked in the suite of his prisoner. That the last scene of Bonaparte's life should have been embittered with vexation and chagrin, can be no subject of wonder : those restless energies of mind which, while he was seated on a throne, precipitated him into projects fraught with ruin, were now left unemployed, except, like the Promethean vulture, to torture their possessor : he, whose vanity, fed by success, placed him in his own estimation high above all human beings ;—he, who lived for effect ; and, like the Pellæan conqueror, would not have been satisfied with one world, after he had exhausted that world's applause ;—was now cut off, not only from the scenes of former glory, but almost from the expression of human sympathy : weighed down by mental suffering, and laboring under the afflicting and hereditary malady of internal cancer, he dragged out a few wretched years in the hopeless seclusion of his distant prison, and expired on the fifth of May, 1821.

Wellington's despatches from the field of Waterloo reached London on the twenty-first of June, while parliament was still sitting : its thanks, and a public monument to that illustrious commander and his army, were voted on the following day ; when lord Lansdowne, with peculiar felicity, observed, ' that the splendor and importance of the victory almost stifled every feeling of individual sorrow ; making the fate of the brave who fell, to be regarded as that of men, *quos nefas est lugere*. ' There remained no fresh distinctions to be conferred on the duke ; but the sum of £200,000 was voted to build a mansion worthy of Napoleon's conqueror ; the earl of Uxbridge was raised a step in the peerage by the title of marquis of Anglesea ; and as the regent, in the beginning of the year, had greatly extended the order of the Bath⁸ to reward our military and naval officers at the conclusion of the war, its

⁸ It was divided into three classes ; that of seventy-two grand crosses, 180 knights commanders, and an unlimited number of companions of the order.

decorations were liberally conferred on the heroes of Waterloo : all the regiments which had shared in the glories of its field were permitted to inscribe the word 'Waterloo' on their colors : to every private a silver medal was presented ; each being allowed to reckon that day of battle as two years' service in the account of time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged : a very important benefit also was extended, on this occasion, to the whole British army, by a regulation, which enacted, that henceforward the pension granted for wounds should rise with the rank of the officer receiving it ; so that he who was maimed while an ensign, would, if he became a general, be intitled to a general's pension for his injury.

CHAPTER LVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1805-23.

Affairs of India—Lord Cornwallis's second administration—Government of sir George Barlow—Administration of lord Minto—Government of the marquis of Hastings—Consummation of the British power in India; efforts made for the amelioration of its people, &c.—Statistical account of Great Britain during the latter period of the war, &c.—Difficulties encountered in the transition from a state of war to peace, &c.

THE affairs of India, from which our attention has been so long detained by the overwhelming interest of European transactions, must be now briefly considered. The marquis Cornwallis arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, as the successor of lord Wellesley; but he came with a mind enfeebled by the infirmities of age, and influenced by doctrines which the timid and sordid spirit of a mercantile government had forced on his attention: his main object was to relieve the distress now pervading all branches of the public service, by reducing expenditure, and putting an end to contests which bore heavily on the company's finances; while his first acts exhibited a determination to reverse the policy of his predecessor, and, if possible, restore affairs to the posture in which he had left them in 1793: he strongly avowed his disapprobation of all subsidiary alliances; and so great was his anxiety to finish the war with Holkar, and accommodate disputes with Sindia, that if the power of those subtle chiefs, and of the rajah of Berar, had not been already broken, a long succession of hostilities would probably have ensued.

His lordship now proposed a restoration to Holkar of all his conquered territories: with regard to Sindia, he expressed a readiness to overlook the outrage committed by him on the British residency; and to resign Gwalior, with all its dependencies. In his disapprobation of alliances contracted with native princes, he directed that the rajah of Jyepoor, who had not fulfilled the conditions of his agreement, should be told, it was considered as dissolved; also, to induce the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Macherry, and Boondee, to renounce our alliance,

he proposed to bribe them with portions of the territory conquered from Sindia, south of Delhi, and west of the Jumna: this river he resolved to make the south-western boundary of the company's possessions in that quarter; though, as lord Lake intimated, it never can become a barrier of sufficient importance; being fordable, in many places, nearly throughout the year, above its junction with the Chumbul. Instructions, in conformity with such sentiments, were sent to lord Lake on the nineteenth of September; but that able officer, apprised of the governor's pacific views and altered policy, had so managed matters with Sindia, as to obtain our resident's release; and had submitted to the chieftain a plan for the adjustment of all differences: in consequence of this favorable state of affairs, and his own anticipation of evil from the abandonment of our connexion with the native powers, while the northern provinces were re-occupied by the Mahrattas, his lordship delayed acting on the miserable instructions of the governor; to whom he sent a strong representation of the reasons by which he was actuated: but before this arrival, lord Cornwallis, fortunately for his country and for his own fame, became incapable of attending to public business, and died on the fifth of October: yet 'however questionable,' says sir John Malcolm, 'the policy of some of the last acts of this nobleman may be, or whatever speculations may be made on the causes which produced such an apparent deviation from the high and unyielding spirit of his former administration; no man can doubt the exalted purity of the motives which led him to revisit India.'

On the death of Cornwallis, sir George Barlow, senior member of the council, succeeded, by a provisional appointment, to the rank and duties of governor-general: he lost no time in replying to the representations of lord Lake, stating his determination to pursue the latter policy of his predecessor, by abandoning all connexion with the petty states of the country, and generally with those westward of the Jumna. It was extremely fortunate for British interests, that so enlightened a man as lord Lake was found at this period in the high and responsible office of commander-in-chief, when the governors of India submitted to regulate their proceedings by such a narrow, selfish system of non-interference.

In the mean time, Holkar, at the head of a large body of cavalry, had proceeded to ravage the company's territories; and Lake, having posted strong bodies of troops to intercept him on his return, had set out about the middle of October in pursuit of that marauder: his operations, however, did not

obstruct arrangements with Sindia, which were concluded by a new treaty on the twenty-third of November. Of the former convention, every article was to remain in force, unless it should be altered by the present arrangement: Gwalior, with great part of Gohud, was ceded to Sindia; and the Chumbul was to be a boundary between the two territories; but as this line of demarcation was advantageous to the company, he was recompensed by an annual pension of four lacs of rupees, as well as by jaghirs given to his wife and daughter. Sindia resigned the districts of Dholpoor, Barree, and Rajkerrah, (which were bestowed afterwards on the rana of Gohud) together with all claim to tribute from the rajah of Boondce. The British government engaged to enter into no treaties with the rana of Oudepoor, the rajahs of Joudpoor and Kotah, or any other tributaries of Sindia: also not to interfere with his conquests from the Holkar family between the Taptee and the Chumbul.

Holkar, being thus reduced to extremities, sent agents to sue for peace; and from the instructions given to our commander-in-chief, he found no difficulty in obtaining it: a treaty therefore was signed, on the twenty-fourth of December, by which he renounced his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul, with all claims on Bundelcund, or the British government: he also engaged to retain no Europeans in his service; while our government agreed not to interfere with his possessions or dependencies south of the Chumbul, and to restore his forts and territories on the southern side of the Taptee and Godavery. Agreeably, however, to the system of policy now adopted, sir George Barlow made alterations in both these treaties: with regard to Sindia, he explained away all obligation to protect the petty states north of the Chumbul, from Kotah to the Jumna; while to Holkar he restored Tonk-Rampoorah, and the territory north of the Boondce hills; abandoning to his fate the rajah of Boondce, who had honorably maintained an alliance with the British government: and this he did in opposition to the urgent remonstrances of the commander-in-chief, who not only pointed out the importance of the district, as commanding a principal pass into our northern provinces; but stated in the strongest terms our obligation to protect that rajah from an inveterate foe, whose vindictive rage had been excited to the highest pitch by the great assistance which he had afforded to the British. No plea of honor, justice, or humanity had, in this instance, the slightest weight with our pusillanimous

governor-general; but he remained fixed in his resolution; nay, he even gave directions for dissolving our alliance with the rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor: but lord Lake, apprehensive that, if such an intention only were known, all the powers of destruction would be again let loose on that portion of India, represented his views of the probable consequences so forcibly, that sir George, though he declared that his sentiments remained unchanged, consented to delay for a time the execution of his purpose. Fortunately, this weak and incapable man, who undertook to counteract the grand political system of a Wellesley, abstained from applying to the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad those principles of non-interference which he was so rashly pursuing in other directions; and in July, 1807, lord Minto arrived, as the regularly-appointed successor of the late marquis Cornwallis. The state in which he found the country soon convinced him, that a system of neutral policy would be a descent from that height to which we had advanced; leading either to our expulsion from the country, or to the necessity of regaining our former position at an immense sacrifice of life and treasure.

When Holkar returned to his own dominions, his oppressive conduct raised a mutiny among the troops; at the head of whom, his nephew, Khundee Row, was forcibly placed, after having been declared his legal representative: the tyrant, however, having contrived to exact a large sum from the rajah of Jyepoor, employed it in appeasing the greater part of his army; and having thus settled the disturbances, he put his nephew to death: in the excitement of his ferocious disposition, he commanded his brother also to be privately murdered, and afterwards proceeded in such a course of brutal sensualities, as brought on a total derangement of intellect; so that his maniacal extravagances, in 1808, rendered it necessary to place him under personal restraint. This chieftain, as sir John Malcolm observes, 'was formed by nature to command a horde of plunderers: master of the art of cajoling those who approached him, flattery, mirth, and wit were alternately used to put his chiefs and troops into good humor, when want of pay or other causes rendered them discontented or mutinous; but any attempt at intimidation on their part never failed to rouse a spirit which made the boldest tremble: his licentious passions brooked no control; and the sacrifice of female honor in their family was no unusual road with courtiers to his favor: his favorite drink was cherry or raspberry brandy; and the

shops of Bombay were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply : but his ruling passion was power on any terms ; to attain and preserve which all means were welcomed ; nor could the most unworthy favorite, of whom he had several, suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit, to relieve the distress or forward the object of the moment. From the hour he commenced his career in central India, the work of desolation began ; his object, often declared, being to restore the Mahratta supremacy, by a revival of the ancient predatory system.*

When the British usurpation of power in India is made a subject of vituperation, or likened to that of France in Algeria, let it be remembered, that to annihilate such a system, and to rescue the miserable inhabitants from a curse to which for ages they had been subject, was the grand policy of the marquis Wellesley. As we proceed even in the present brief annals of the Indian government, we shall have occasion to see how impossible it was to control those predatory chieftains, and to prevent the fertile regions of the East from becoming scenes of misery and desolation, except by retaining a control over every branch of their administration, as well as a military occupation of their country.

When Holkar's state of mind rendered it necessary to place him in confinement, the government was administered under a regency, controlled by Ameer Khan, the most powerful of his generals ; but Balaram Seit, the dewan, ostensibly took the management of affairs, acting under Toolsay Bhye, Holkar's favorite mistress, a woman as profligate and vindictive as himself : the army however was now reduced to a state of insubordination ; and on the departure of Ameer Khan, to profit by civil war in Jyepoor and Joudpoor, an adventurer, named Dherma Kower, seized the mistress with her favorite, and usurped the government till the return of Ameer Khan with his army of Patans and Pindarries ;¹ by whom, after fifteen

¹ Two extraordinary tribes of plunderers in India : the chief difference between them lay in this ; that the Patans were associated for the sake of invading such states as they could overpower or intimidate ; while the object of the Pindarries was indiscriminate and universal plunder : the Patans in fact were military mercenaries : the Pindarries, cowardly and desperate banditti : against both the British government was long obliged to keep up an armed force, and to be constantly on the alert. The chief strength of the Pindarries lay in their being intangible : if pursued, the best horsemen rode off with the booty, and would perform a journey of from sixty to one hundred miles in two days, over rocks and hills

days of hard fighting, he was overcome and put to death : Ameer then returned to his ravages in Rajpootana, leaving Holkar's dominions in a state of incurable anarchy. The expedients to which Toolsay Bhye and her minister then had recourse, for the support of the court and army, were of the most horrible description : several of the principal officers were appointed and sent with detachments to plunder the country : these chiefs became answerable to the troops for arrears due, paid a certain sum in advance to the treasury, and gave large presents to the ministers ; in return for which, they received a license to plunder at discretion, without regard even to the rights of neighboring states ; while the atrocities which they committed in their excursions were scarcely exceeded by those of the Pindarries themselves. 'Every where,' says sir John Malcolm, 'the same scene of oppression presented itself ; open villages and towns were sacked, and walled towns were battered until they paid contributions : ' and when these marauders departed, loaded with spoil and satiated with cruelty, 'the Bheels, a tribe who are born plunderers, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, would leave their mountain fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains : then the villagers themselves, driven to despair, became freebooters, in order to indemnify themselves for their losses by the pillage of their neighbors ; ' such was the state of Hindostan, before that system of British policy became perfected, which has at length enabled the inhabitants of this interesting country to sit in security under the shade of their own vines and fig-trees. On the death of Holkar, in 1811, Mulhar Row, one of his sons, was placed on the musnud : but no change took place in the administrative government, though disturbances occurred from the factions of Sindia and Ameer Khan : all was terror and confusion, till the British armies, in 1817, advanced toward central India.

Sindia's territory was not much less disturbed than that of Holkar : his military establishment far exceeded his financial resources ; and to quiet his troops, he also was obliged to send them out on predatory excursions ; but several of them found

impassable to regular cavalry. They have been known to march 500 miles in one fortnight. Terror and dismay reigned in the country which they visited : where the population fled in all directions, from villages in flames, and from the horrid tortures to which the wretched inhabitants were put, to make them discover their wealth. While they continued their ravages, marauders of all descriptions joined them to profit by their presence.

employment in subduing refractory zemindars and tributary rajahs: on the death of Ambajee, in 1810, Sindia proceeded to reduce the territory in Gohud, held by his family; and having established his camp at Gwalior, fixed there his headquarters.

The state of affairs at Nagpoor, under Ragojee Bhonselah, partook of the confusion prevalent in the other Mahratta districts; except that his troops being inferior, his country was still more exposed to the attacks of freebooters. Invited by these circumstances, Ameer Khan, in 1809, under some pretended claim of the Holkar family, carried his ravages into Berar: the rajah had not solicited British aid; but the governor-general could not see with indifference Ameer's army, enlarged as it was by a numerous tribe of Pindarries, encamped on the Nerbuddah, and ready to overwhelm the Nagpoor territory: our troops therefore were put in motion under colonel Close; and lord Minto wrote to Ameer Khan, requiring him to withdraw his troops: that chieftain however in reply denied the governor's right of interference; threatening even the British territory with invasion, in case of any hostile movement: colonel Close therefore advanced, and occupied Seronje, Ameer's capital, whose power might have been easily overthrown: but the governor's moral courage now failed: he trembled at the financial consequences of his proceedings, and the consequent disapprobation of directors: accordingly he retracted the instructions first given to colonel Close, and directed that officer to confine his exertions to the immediate security of the rajah's dominions: thus the great marauder escaped with an unbroken army, the savage instrument of future conquest and oppression: a treaty however was set on foot with Ragojee Bhonselah for the protection of his dominions by the permanent aid of a British force; but before it could be concluded, lord Minto had withdrawn his troops for an expedition against Java, the success of which was in great measure due to that prompt decision and energy with which his lordship took on himself the responsibility of the enterprise.

As the advance of colonel Close had checked the audacity of the freebooters, so his retreat became a signal for their increased licentiousness. They now overran Berar, and burned one quarter of the rajah's capital: a party in 1812 even went so far as to violate the British territory of Mirzapore, whence they carried off an immense booty; so that it soon became evident that energetic measures must be taken to put them down; and though lord Minto was reluctant to involve

the company in the fresh war, yet he left his sentiments regarding its necessity on record, and confirmed them by a report of the ablest political officers then employed in the East: this document, transmitted to England, operated strongly in altering the false views of those who had the supreme direction of Indian affairs, and in preparing the way for that brilliant administration which distinguished his lordship's successor.

No material change took place, at this period, in the relations of our government with that of the peishwa; but the encroachments of Runjeet Singh, rajah of Lahore, led to the decisive step of taking the Sheik chiefs, between the Jumna and the Sutlej, under British protection: the miserable policy of sir George Barlow, by withdrawing that protection, had tempted Runjeet Singh to extend his conquests; but he was now compelled to desist from further aggression, and bound by treaty to maintain, on the left bank of the Sutlej, a force no larger than what was required for the internal management of his own districts.

In 1808 the alarm of approaching hostilities on the part of the French was renewed; when it became known that an envoy had been sent by Napoleon to the shah of Persia; to counteract whose designs, the governor-general despatched sir John Malcolm as his representative, who proceeded as far as Busheer: but finding French influence predominant, and not being allowed to proceed to Teheran, he refusing to negotiate with a provincial governor, and returned to Calcutta: but ministers at home had sent out sir Harford Jones as an accredited ambassador to the shah; and he, on his arrival in Persia, thinking himself at liberty to refuse all recognition of orders from India, proceeded to Teheran, in direct opposition to the wishes and commands of the Bengal government: circumstances in the mean time had changed; and sir Harford found no difficulty in concluding a defensive alliance with the shah, on condition of our granting him a subsidy to support the disastrous contest in which he was engaged with Russia. The governor-general however, not without reason, protested against these proceedings of the British cabinet and its envoy, as degrading and impolitic; leading the Persians to believe that a difference of interests subsisted between the king's government and that of the company.

The same alarm of French invasion suggested a mission to the court of Cabool, which was soon followed by a treaty of alliance; whence a knowledge of the affairs of Afghanistan was acquired, which, according to sir John Malcolm's opinion, was

essential to the success of any future measure relative to the most vulnerable portion of our Eastern empire. Some time afterwards the Goorkalese mountaineers attracted notice by their frequent and bold incursions into the provinces of Gooruk-poor and Sarun : such excesses compelled lord Minto to address the court of Nepaul in strong and decided terms ; but the resignation of this virtuous and able statesman left to his more energetic successor the duty of checking the inroads of a proud and warlike people, whose territory it becomes necessary to describe.

The great Himalayan range of mountains, which forms the northern boundary of India, is skirted by a magnificent forest composed chiefly of the sal tree,² and nearly two days' journey in breadth : between this and Hindostan is an open district, called the *Turaee*, of a rich soil, and valuable for its fine pastures ; abounding in the wild elephant, the rhinoceros, and the buffalo ; which animals find shelter in the deep recesses of the adjoining forest : but the insalubrity of its climate prevents the establishment of any large towns on this tract ; and its population is for the most part migratory, retiring to the hills at the approach of the unhealthy season. From time immemorial, the country within the hills, and on the borders, had been divided among petty rajahs : while the forest with the *Turaee*, remained a natural and constant object of contention : a chieftain, possessing fastnesses on the hills, could always enforce contributions by incursions, from which he retreated to his strongholds ; and every rajah of the hills had a portion of the forest and low country attached to his territory ; which he was constantly endeavoring to extend in a sort of border warfare : thus feuds were transmitted from father to son, as was formerly the case in the Scottish highlands. When the rajahs of the plains became subject to the Mahometan yoke, those of the hills retained their ancient independence ; and such was the state of the frontier, till the low countries fell under our dominion ; when the hills were gradually overrun by the Goorkalese, and consolidated by them into one empire. The British, after the extinction of the Mogul sovereignty, left the low rajahs in the enjoyment of their territories, on payment of a fixed land-tax ; but the Goorkalese, as each hill chieftain fell before them, exterminated the family, taking up the contests and claims of those whom they had so treated : this brought them into contact with the zemindars under our protection, who generally

² The *Shorea robusta*, very useful for ship-building.

had no alternative but to surrender the object in dispute; for unless the encroachment was outrageous indeed, how could the unfortunate zemindar expect to interest the high authorities in his favor? especially as our government was no great loser by the usurpation; and inclined to look on the Goorkalese in the light of well-disposed neighbors, whom it was advisable to conciliate: some time, however, before the period which we are now contemplating, this people became so emboldened by the supineness of our government, that their aggressions attracted the notice of lord Minto; when the Goorkalese commandant of Valpa, Umur Singh Thappa, replied to a remonstrance made by the governor-general,—that he had a distinct right to all the territory which he had taken. Attempts were made in 1812, and the following year, to adjust all disputes by negotiation; but the Nepaulese commissioners showed no disposition to recede from their claims; and in this state were affairs found by lord Hastings, when he commenced his brilliant administration. That illustrious governor, and worthy successor of lord Wellesley, arrived at Calcutta in October, 1813; when almost the first object which engaged his attention was the dispute with the Nepaulese government. The reply to lord Minto's letter, who had demanded restitution of two invaded districts, distinctly asserted the right of that government to both; amicable negotiations however were still tried, but in vain; a military force therefore was sent into the disputed territories, and placed under the management of civil officers; but no sooner were the troops withdrawn than an attack was made by the Goorkalese, who slew eighteen persons, wounded six more, and put the superior local officer to death with circumstances of great barbarity: after this, another attack was made on one of our outposts, which occasioned a farther loss of life: still a formal declaration of war was withheld, that persons engaged in commerce might have an opportunity to withdraw their capital, and the Goorkalese rajah to disclaim his outrages. Instead, however, of pursuing this line of conduct, he boldly avowed and justified them; while he caused active military preparations to be made along the whole Nepaulese frontier; an extent of about 600 miles. War was declared at Lucknow on the first of November, 1814.

At this time the rajah was in his minority, and the powers of government were exercised by the family of Thappa. Bheem Sein Thappa, who assumed the title of general, had the chief management of affairs in the capital: his brother, Umur Singh, having been long at the head of a great army,

had pushed his conquests so far west of the Gograh, and acquired so vast a power, that the national sentiments of his troops, or his own patriotism, alone prevented him from claiming independence: he now occupied a line of posts round Irkee and Balaspoor, including the strong fortresses of Ramgurh and Maloun. A long debate is said to have occupied the Goorkalese warriors on the question of peace or war with the British government; and some in the council were apprehensive of the result: 'We have hitherto,' said they, 'been hunting deer; but if we engage in this contest, we must prepare to fight with tigers.' The advocates for war insisted principally on the strength of their hill country, which not even Alexander the Great had been able to subdue; and allusions, implying contempt of the English, were made to their defeats at Bhurtpoor: Bheem Sein took this view of the question; and his opinion prevailed.

Lord Hastings, having resolved to act offensively against the whole line of the enemy's frontier, from the Sutlej to the Koosee, formed his army into four divisions: the first, of 6000 men, at Dinapoor, under general Marley, was intended to push on to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul; while the second of 3000, under general S. Wood, at Benares, should proceed to Palpa: the third, at Meerut, under general Gillespie, was to gain the post of Nahn, and then rush on toward the Sutlej; but the last, consisting of less than 3000, under general Ochterlony, was destined to advance from Loodeana against the strong posts held by Umur Singh Thappa, in the hilly country of the Sutlej, and eventually to co-operate with the third division: beyond the Koosee, eastward, major Latter was stationed with 2000 men, to defend the Poorneah frontier, and endeavor to act with the rajah of Sikkim: such were the dispositions made for the most arduous campaign in which our Indian government had yet been engaged.

Major-general Gillespie was the first to penetrate the enemy's frontier, by seizing the Keree pass leading into Doon, and advancing to Dehra, the principal town of the valley: about five miles farther is the fort of Kalunga, crowning an isolated hill about 500 feet in height; where Bhulbudder Singh, nephew of Umur had stationed himself with 600 men. A summons of surrender was sent to this chief about midnight: but he tore in pieces the letter; saying, it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours: however, he sent his *salaam* to the British *sirdar*, with an assurance that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp. Misled

in some degree by false information, general Gillespie sent forward a detachment to take the fort by assault; but this was found impracticable; and when he advanced with his whole division, he was repulsed with great loss: he then headed a second attack in person, but fell from a shot, while he was in the act of cheering his men; and his aide-de-camp also was killed by his side. Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, led off the troops to Dehra, until a battering train arrived from Delhi: by means of this, a breach was effected, but in vain were the men exhorted to storm it; and a retreat was sounded before a petty fortress, which had already cost the assailants more lives than the intire number of its garrison: recourse was then had to bombardment; a measure which ought to have been adopted in the first instance: this succeeded; and Bhulbudder, after resisting his antagonists until the whole area of the fortress was like a slaughter-house, retired secretly with about seventy men, the remainder of his garrison. The command of the third division was now given to general Martin-dell; who, after driving the enemy from the town of Nahn, engaged their army in a very disadvantageous position among the heights that surround the fort of Pythuk; and having suffered a total defeat, was obliged to intrench himself at Nahn: neither were the operations of the first and second divisions more successful; so that a very unfavorable opinion of the British arms was spreading itself in the country, until the conduct of general Ochterlony restored their lustre. This able commander, who was opposed to Umur Singh in person, formed, from the first, a just estimate of his opponent's character, and the difficulties of his own enterprise: advancing therefore with great caution, he resolved to leave nothing to hazard; but constructed a road for his artillery, after much labor, and sat down with a heavy battering train before the fort of Nalagurh, on the first of November: he had breached the wall, when the garrison surrendered on the sixth, and capitulated also for a strong stockade on the same ridge, called Talagurh; but Umur Singh came down the same day, and took a position on the higher ridge of Ramgurh, one of the Himalayan ranges; each of which, as it approximates to the centre of that stupendous chain, towers over those before it.

During November, the general was busily occupied in reconnoitring Umur Singh's position; and the intelligence which he received of the failures of our second division made him doubly cautious: accordingly, he waited for a reinforcement, and occupied his time in winning over the rajah of Plaseea;

whose aid he obtained to make a road for artillery : when his troops and guns came up, Umur Singh quickly moved his quarters to the stronger post of Maloun, fearing lest it should be pre-occupied by the British : in the mean time, his ally, the rajah of Belaspoor, was brought to submission ; though a considerable time was consumed in reducing the Ramgurh forts. By dint of great exertion, an eighteen-pounder was dragged up to the batteries : on the sixteenth of January, the face of the great fortress of Ramgurh was laid in ruins ; and the garrison capitulated for itself, as well as for that of Joorjooree, to march out with the honors of war : but the two commanders, on joining Umur Singh, lost their ears and noses, as a punishment for not defending their posts to the utmost extremity : Taragurh and Chamba, on the same ridge, surrendered, like the others, to colonel Cooper ; who, after the whole chain of forts in the rear had been reduced and occupied, joined the main army to take part in the final operations against Maloun : by the fourteenth of April, everything was prepared for a combined movement.

Umur Singh's position consisted of a line of fortified posts, on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej, between the Gamba and Gumrorah : between its extreme points, at the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, were several intervening peaks, each crowned with a stockade, except two, called Rylapeak and Deothul ; the former well situated for operations against Soorujgurh ; the latter in the very heart of the Goorkalese position, and not more than 1000 yards from Maloun : of these the general determined to obtain possession ; and Rylapeak was gained with no great difficulty ; but the occupation of Deothul occasioned a very severe contest. During the darkness, every effort was made to throw up defences round it, from a conviction that the struggle for that post was yet to come : it was indeed a night of great anxiety to both parties : and Bukhtyar Thappa, Umar Singh's best officer, seeing the operations that were going forward, repaired to Maloun to urge on his master the necessity of dislodging the British from their position : 2000 of the choicest Goorkalese troops were accordingly selected for this desperate enterprise, under the command of Bukhtyar himself, who silently placed them in ambuscade, under cover of the darkness ; and, at the dawn of day, our position was assailed at once on every side where it was accessible : the enemy came on with such fury, that several were bayoneted, or cut to pieces, within the works : Umur Singh remaining on a height,

with the Goorkalese colors planted beside him; while Bukhtyar was found at all points, exciting his men, and moving with them to every fresh attack. The Goorkalese troops, being particularly anxious to obtain possession of our guns, directed their fire with such effect, that, at one time, three officers and one man alone remained to serve them: but the British commandant at Rylapeak, observing the desperate nature of this conflict, sent a reinforcement with ammunition, which arrived most opportunely: after the contest had continued two hours without intermission, the enemy began to slacken their efforts, and the British general resolved to assume the offensive: a charge therefore was made, in which Bukhtyar was slain, and the victory decided, after above 500 men had fallen. In the course of the day, the Goorkalese sent a request for the body of their brave commander; which, being found covered with wounds at the foot of our defences, was wrapped in rich shawls, and sent by general Ochterlony with every mark of respect: his countrymen, by whom he was greatly beloved, loudly bewailed his loss, exclaiming, that 'now indeed the blade of their sword was broken.' He had assured Umur Singh that he would return victorious, or return no more: he had also given notice to his two wives to prepare for their *suttee*, as he had little hope of surviving; and both are said to have sacrificed themselves next day on his funeral pile.

During the night, the Goorkalese deserted all their posts on the farther side of Deothul, including even Soorujgurh; and Ochterlony then threw his lines around Maloun. Early in May, a battery was raised against it; when all his *sirdars* urged Umur Singh to make terms for himself, as well as for his son, at Jythuk; but the old chief would not listen to their proposal; declaring, that if they did but hold out till the rainy season, the British army must withdraw: still farther discouragement was at this time produced among them, by tidings of the fall of Almorah, the capital of Kumaoon; which was the result of a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund, planned by lord Hastings as a diversion in that quarter. Considerable desertion now took place in the Goorkalese army, until Umur's pertinacity in refusing to negotiate induced nearly all his officers, with their men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war; leaving him with about 250 adherents, who alone remained faithful to their commander: with these he shut himself up in the fortress, until the batteries were about to open on its walls; when, yielding

to his fate, this proud chieftain, on the fifteenth of May, signed a capitulation, giving up his last stronghold, and resigning to our government every province from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej: in the treaty Runjoor Singh was included; and general Ochterlony had the honor of obtaining also the surrender of Jythuk. The greater part of this conquest was obtained by native troops alone, a few artillerymen being the only Europeans under our standard: three battalions of the Goorkalese were immediately admitted into our service; and a provincial corps was raised for civil duties in Kumaon, which became a British province: the various chiefs also, who had been despoiled of their territories in the hill country, were restored, and wisely placed under British protection.

The court of Nepaul, however, was not yet sufficiently humbled to submit to sacrifices considered necessary as conditions of peace. The *Turaee* was not the sole object of contention; but the reception of a British resident at their capital, appeared to these haughty mountaineers, who still retained a high opinion of the strength of their fortresses, to be a preliminary step to their actual subjugation: such sentiments were encouraged by Umur Singh and his sons, who were among the warmest advocates for continuing the war: after some negotiation, therefore, the proposed treaty was finally rejected, and the passes in the first range of hills were secured with fortifications that were thought impregnable. Anticipating the probability of these events, lord Hastings had ordered sir David Ochterlony to take the field in December 1815, at the head of about 20,000 effective troops, including three European regiments: by the tenth of February, that excellent officer had crossed the forest, and established himself at the foot of the grand pass of the Bicheea Koh: the works indeed were found unassailable; but a secret route being discovered, the position was turned, and consequently abandoned. On the twenty-seventh our commander reached the fine valley of the Raptee, and moved up to Mukwanpoor, where a skirmish of posts took place, which led to a general action; the Goorkalese forces were there utterly routed; the red seal was hastily affixed to the once rejected treaty; and an envoy despatched, who presented it kneeling before the general's *darbar*. The articles were now all punctually executed; but lord Hastings deemed it good policy to restore to the Goorkalese such parts of the *Turaee*, as were not required for the purpose of forming a straight line of frontier: the part ad-

joining Oude was given up to the vizir in payment of a loan of a crore of rupees, advanced by him in support of the war; and a small portion was assigned to the rajah of Sikkim, with whom a treaty of alliance was signed in February, 1817.

The same year, in which this contest with the Nepaul government commenced, saw the British dominion established throughout Ceylon, where the government of the king of Kandia had become so tyrannical and oppressive, that many females emigrated from his dominions to the British portion of the island: some of the chiefs also solicited military aid to shake off a yoke which they found intolerable; and an act of brutal outrage, soon afterwards committed by this barbarian, gave an additional force to their appeal. Ten of the natives, resident in the British province of Kolumbo, were suddenly seized when trading within the Kandian frontiers, and so cruelly mutilated by the king's order, that only three survived; and these were sent back in a state that excited universal indignation; their amputated members being suspended round their necks. A part of the nation having raised the standard of revolt, the progress of hostilities soon brought a body of armed royalists into the British territories, where they committed many excesses: this induced the governor to undertake an expedition against the capital, from which the vile tyrant fled at the approach of our troops; and an ancient kingdom was conquered without the loss of a single life: in a grand council held by general Brownrigg, the chiefs and provincial deputies concurred in the dethronement of the captive king, the exclusion of his family from the throne, and the grant of sovereignty to his Britannic majesty.

Although the ample employment which the Nepaulese war afforded, had rendered it necessary for the supreme government to abstain from contests in other quarters, yet the rapidly increasing power of the predatory tribes of Pindarries and Patans³ rendered it evident that measures must soon be taken to suppress so enormous an evil. The chief leader of these savage plunderers was Ameer Khan, a Patan chief, who frequently associated a band of the more infamous and numerous Pindarries with his Patan mercenaries. The most effectual means of precaution against these marauders, seemed to be the establishment of a subsidiary alliance with Ragojee Bhonselah; but it was found impossible to conquer his repugnance to such a measure: the next alternative which pre-

³ See note p. 315.

sented itself, was to extend our chain of positions from the British frontier in Bundelcund to the Nerbuddah, by means of a connexion with the states of Saugur and Bhopaul; and this policy appeared the more advisable, in consequence of information respecting a pending negotiation between the Bhonselah and Sindia, for an offensive and defensive alliance; one object of which was a combined attack on the Bhopaul territory; the preparations for it being of so formidable a nature, that the destruction of the nabob seemed inevitable: so that he earnestly solicited an alliance with our government. This potentate had peculiar claims on British gratitude, and his request was acceded to; not however without vehement remonstrances from Sindia, and some demonstrations of an attack on our troops assembled to support the negotiations; but ultimately his army was withdrawn. The peishwah and Ragojee Bhonselah pretended to acquiesce in this arrangement; but the latter died in March, 1816, and was succeeded by his son Pursajee, who soon fell into a state of idiocy; when his cousin, Appa Sahib, was chosen regent, though not without a violent opposition. In this unsettled state of his affairs, Appa Sahib voluntarily sought that subsidiary alliance which had been proposed to Ragojee; and our government readily agreed to furnish him with six battalions and a regiment of cavalry: this event, however, struck a serious blow against a secret confederacy carried on against the English among the Mahratta powers, of which the court of Poonah was a nucleus: it was not long, therefore, before Appa Sahib was persuaded to dissolve his alliance; but being apprehensive that if he cast aside British support during the lifetime of Pursajee, a party might be raised to endanger his own authority, he caused the young rajah to be strangled in the night of the thirtieth of January, 1817; and then entered into an active, but secret correspondence with the peishwah.

In the mean time, during last year, the aggressions of the Pindaries had alarmingly increased: it was ascertained that these freebooters had resolved to respect the territories of the Mahratta chieftains, and direct their ravages principally against the Nizam, and his British allies. For twelve days they remained within the company's districts, committing every species of depredation and atrocity; so that, during this short period, it was calculated that 339 villages were plundered, 182 individuals put to a cruel death, 505 severely wounded, and 3603 subjected to various kinds of torture: no fewer than

twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape pollution; and the private losses of individuals were estimated at about £100,000 sterling.⁴ To obviate the suspicion which such circumstances tended to excite, the peishwah sent a party of horse, to plunder in his own country, who gave themselves out to be Pindarries; nor did the wretched inhabitants suffer less injury than might have been expected from those, of whom they were the nominal representatives: Sindia professed great anxiety to suppress them, but they were countenanced by his commanders; and it was evident that neither he nor Holkar were willing or able to restrain their dependents.

For ten years immediately following the treaty of Bassein, nothing had occurred to interrupt the harmony existing between the court of Poonah and that of Calcutta: Bajee Row, secure against foreign attack, paid great attention to the improvement of his resources; and though he manifested a disposition to maintain secret correspondence with the Mahratta chieftains, this was long winked at; until the ascendancy, which was gained over his mind about the year 1815, by Trimbukjee Dainglia, an artful and wicked man, who from the state of a menial servant was raised to that of chief minister, decidedly changed his policy, and engaged him in secret intrigues against his allies. An atrocious murder committed by him on the person of Gandagur Shastree, a Brahmin of the highest order, and minister of the Guickwar, within the consecrated walls of a pagoda, occasioned a demand that he should be given up to the British government, whose extreme lenity towards atrocious criminals in India has ever been one of its greatest errors; and this murderer, a wretch stained with a thousand crimes, and disgraced by vices which disgusted even an Indian court, was placed in a splendid though strict confinement, from which he soon contrived means to escape.

Bajee Row, however, was only stimulated by the loss of this vile minister, and pander to his obscene pleasures, to carry on with increased zeal intrigues against our government; and the escape of Trimbukjee, who remained in the mountains, collecting troops, and dispersing agents throughout the country, favored his designs: at the same time, such extensive levies of horse and foot were going on at Poonah, so many fortresses were repaired, and so large a portion of the peishwah's treasure was carried away, that Mr. Elphinstone, our resident, could no longer mistake his intentions: he therefore resolved to call in

⁴ Prinsep, vol. i. p. 334.

the subsidiary force, while he waited for instructions from the governor-general : these he received in May : and Bajee Row was required, under pain of being treated as an enemy, to surrender Trimbukjee, make certain concessions of territory, and renounce all supremacy over the Mahratta empire. After a severe struggle, and trying every means of evasion, the deceitful peishwah was induced to sign this treaty, with an intention of violating it on the very first opportunity.

The governor-general had at length come to a determination of taking measures to suppress the Pindarries ; having received permission from the court of directors to drive those wretches from their haunts on the Nerbuddah and in Malwah : his own views, however, were far more wise and comprehensive ; for he meditated their intire suppression, by eradicating the predatory system from central India : the plan of extermination now projected was similar to that pursued by the great Aurungzebe in his hunting of wild animals : the courts of Poonah and Berar being put out of the question, the attention of our government was directed to the possessions of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajpoors, the nabob of Bhopaul, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Armies were ordered to assemble round those districts, which, by gradually contracting their circle towards a common centre, might hem in the Pindarries, with their adherents, on all sides : nor did lord Hastings hesitate boldly to assume the principle, that in these operations no state could be suffered to remain neutral ; whence it happened, that an enterprise, undertaken primarily against a wandering tribe of freebooters, ended in the suppression of the great and dangerous power of the Mahrattas. Orders for a simultaneous movement were issued about the end of September, 1817 : the army of Bengal, which took the field, consisted of 34,000 regulars, including nearly 5000 cavalry : that of the Deccan, which was placed under the command of sir Thomas Hislop, including a reserve at Adwanee, with different corps at Poonah, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor, amounted to 57,000 regulars ; of which 5250 were cavalry ; about 23,000 irregular horse also were attached to the grand divisions, which were ordered to rendezvous at the most convenient spots for carrying on offensive operations : a judicious manœuvre of the divisions under lord Hastings and general Donkin, by placing Sindia's camp between them, left to that chief no other alternative, in the event of his disobedience, except that of shutting himself up in Gwalior, or joining the Pindarries. His lordship had received indisputable proof that Sindia was pledged to support them ; and

that in his determination to take the field, he would be followed by Ameer Khan, and other potentates, with whom he was in active correspondence : he was now therefore required to concur in the great object of our government, by placing his troops at its disposal ; a British officer being appointed to superintend each division, and British garrisons admitted into his forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, to remain during the war : anxiously watching the result of what was passing with the other Mahratta powers, Sindia evaded, as long as possible, the signature of this treaty ; but was at length induced to accept its terms ; and this ostensible defection from a cause, of which he was considered the main stay, was of great importance to our operations. Ameer Khan followed this example, and agreed to disband his army on certain conditions : the Kerowlee rajah acknowledged British supremacy, and received a guarantee for his dominions : Zalim Singh, regent of Kotah, also acceded to the terms proposed, and agreed to block up all the passes leading into his country : in Bundelcund, Windek Row, the chief of Saugur, rejected them ; while they were readily accepted by the rajahs of Simphur and Jhansee : but the nabob of Bhopaul entered most heartily and sincerely into our cause.

The Pindarries, aware that offensive operations on a large scale were meditated against them, had been actively employed in assembling and recruiting their forces ; but a want of combination among their chiefs prevented them from forming any consistent plan of action : they were cantoned in three bodies under Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed : Sheikh Dulhoo, the most adventurous of their partisans, declared his intention to join Trimbukjee in an expedition against the Deccan ; while the rest were distracted in opinion, and inclined to wait for an expected rise of the Mahrattas. In the mean time, just as the British forces had arrived at their destined points, and the concerted plan was about to be put into execution, intelligence reached sir Thomas Hislop at Hurda, that the peishwah had thrown off the mask, and risen up in arms : during the whole of October, Bajee Row had been collecting troops from all quarters, under a pretence of aiding us in the Pindarrie war ; but his intentions soon became apparent to the resident, from a discovery of his efforts to seduce British sepoys from their allegiance : of whom a large proportion in major Ford's battalions, being Mahrattas, were naturally won over. It was the peishwah's design, before he commenced hostilities, to invite Mr. Elphinstone to a con-

ference, and there murder him ; but from the commission of this atrocity he was deterred by Bappoo Gokla, leader of all his enterprises, and the best cavalry officer among the natives of India : accordingly, at their last interview on the fourteenth of October, his highness renewed to Mr. Elphinstone fervent expressions of good will and gratitude toward our government ; with an assurance that his troops should be quickly sent to the frontier, for the purpose of co-operating with its armies : in the mean time, as general Smith's force was at a distance, and a European regiment, ordered from Bombay, could not be expected in less than ten days, the safety of the resident, as well as of the British forces, became very precarious : parties of horse now came out, and gradually encamped around their cantonments, continually increasing in numbers ; while a strong corps of infantry occupied a position on one of their flanks. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Mr. Elphinstone, being unwilling to commence hostilities, confined himself to remonstrances, while night after night was passed in anxious suspense : still the peishwah hesitated, against the recommendation of his general ; and on the thirtieth, the expected regiment arrived from Bombay.

The resident now determined to remove our troops from their exposed situation to the village of Kirkee, about four miles distant ; and on the first of November, they encamped on that spot : but the peishwah, supposing that they had retired through fear ; and believing, from the reports of his emissaries, that our sepoy were completely seduced from their allegiance, determined to attack them : still however keeping up his system of deception to the last, he sent to inform our resident, that he was about to march for the purpose of attending a religious festival : at the same time the whole Mahratta camp was put in motion ; and Mr. Elphinstone, with the other gentlemen of the residency, had barely time to fly, under cover of their honorary guard, before the enemy arrived, and began to burn and plunder all around them. Having joined the army, they determined to advance, and fight the battle in an open plain, between their encampment and the city ; which forward movement so damped the courage of the Mahrattas, and alarmed the peishwah, that his heart failed him, and he sent to Gokla to stop the advance of his troops : that intrepid leader however, instead of obeying orders, instantly commenced the attack ; opening a battery of nine guns, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left, so as almost to surround our troops : but in this movement, which

was rapidly executed, his infantry were left behind, with the exception of one regular battalion under a Portugese leader, named de Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route : against these our sepoys instantly pushed forward and became detached from the line ; on which, Gokla, who never neglected an opportunity, ordered a charge of cavalry, which was perceived by colonel Barr just in time to withdraw his men from destruction : fortunately there was a deep morass in the way, of which neither party was aware ; and into this the first ranks of the Mahrattas fell, before they could rein up their horses : a reserved fire was then poured in among them with great effect : their attack became utterly disconcerted ; and on the advance of our line, the whole field was cleared. Next morning, the brigade was joined by a light battalion, and its auxiliary horse ; which deterred Gokla from renewing his attempts ; in the mean time, general Smith advanced ; and the peishwah retired in haste toward Satarah, leaving his tents standing : the city then surrendered ; and the British commander, having been joined by a regiment of native cavalry, set off in pursuit of the enemy.

Though Bajee Row had thus failed in his manœuvres, Appa Sahib, the Nagpoor rajah, imitated his example with a similar degree of duplicity and vacillation : he also, to the last, was profuse in expressions of attachment to our resident, Mr. Jenkins ; and inveighed bitterly against the peishwah's base and treacherous conduct. On the night of the twenty-fourth of November, however, he sent to say, that a *khelaut*, and a *juree putker*, or golden streamer, had arrived from the peishwah, who expected him in his camp to receive other honors ; and he invited the resident to be present at the ceremony : all remonstrances were unavailing ; the insignia were received ; and the rajah's troops took up positions in the vicinity of our residency so menacing that Mr. Jenkins was obliged to call in the brigade from its cantonments ; its whole force consisted only of two native battalions much reduced by sickness, two companies composing the resident's escort, and three troops of Bengal cavalry, with four six-pounders manned by Europeans. On the twenty-sixth of November, at sunset, when the British piquets were about to be placed, they were fired at by the rajah's Arabian infantry ; after which his artillery opened on our position with a destructive effect : the rest of the night was occupied by our troops in making cartridges, and placing on the brow of the hill sacks of flour and other materials, to cover their position : at daybreak a furious assault commenced ;

in which one of the guns was taken, and all its defenders put to the sword by the Arabs ; when the enemy's horse and foot, emboldened by this success, hemmed in the whole brigade, and prepared for a general attack : to increase the appalling difficulties of this crisis, the Arabs had got into the huts of our troops ; and the shrieks of women and children contributed to damp the courage of the men. At this critical moment, captain Fitzgerald, who had frequently requested leave to charge, and had been as often prevented by his commanding officer, made a last effort to obtain permission, but in vain. Colonel Scott's *extraordinary* reply was—' Tell him to charge at his peril.'—' At my peril be it then !' cried the gallant officer, as he advanced against the principal body of the enemy's horse, drove them from two guns by which they were supported, turned these against the foe, and retired dragging them back into the resident's grounds : our infantry on the hill were encouraged by this brilliant exploit ; and soon afterwards, when a tumbrel exploded among the Arabs, they descended to the charge, and totally dispersed them : the conflict was now over, and 18,000 men retreated before a little band of 1400 : the loss on each side being very severe, and nearly equal.

Foiled in this disgraceful attempt, Appa Sahib sent to express great sorrow to Mr. Jenkins for what had happened ; but the latter refused to treat, until he had disbanded his troops. In the mean time, general Doveton arrived with the whole second division, and the absolute submission of the tyrant was demanded : with this he apparently complied ; but when the British advanced to take his guns, a furious cannonade was opened on our ranks, occasioning a loss of 140 men : the assailants, however, were eventually subdued ; but Appa Sahib, strange to say ! instead of meeting the punishment he deserved, *was reinstated on the musnud* ; subject only to the control of the resident, and a military occupation of his country.

While these important transactions occurred at Poonah and Nagpoor, so confounding to all who had either openly or secretly taken part in the confederacy, the Pindarries had been completely driven out of their haunts in Malwah, by our third division, under brigadier-generals Malcolm, Adams, and Marshall : those under Kureem Khan and Wasil Mohammed, at the invitation of Sindia, took a route toward Gwalior ; while Cheetoo went off to the north-west, in hopes of meeting support from Holkar's government. Between Gwalior and Kureem Khan's troops, lord Hastings directed his march, cutting them off from Sindia, while he completely overawed that chief-

tain : on the approach of the British divisions under Marshall and Adams, they forced the Lodwana Ghaut, and attempted to cross the Chumbul by the Lohaire ford ; but they were there intercepted by general Donkin, who surprised their advanced guard, and captured the wife of Kureem, with all his state elephants, standards, and other insignia. The two chiefs, having burned their baggage, went off with 4000 of their best mounted cavalry, toward Mewar : of those left behind, many were cut off by the troops and exasperated villagers ; but a considerable body made their way into the Deccan.

When Cheetoo retired toward the north-west, he was pursued by sir John Malcolm with our third division, till he found refuge in Holkar's camp near Mehidpoor. Sir John arrived at Agur on the fourth of December, where he heard that Holkar's army was decidedly hostile : waiting therefore the arrival of the first division under sir Thomas Hislop, he advanced toward the enemy's camp, with an intention of offering terms, according to the governor-general's instructions : the Mahratta commanders, however, aware that if an alliance were formed, that consequence which they derived from a state of anarchy would be diminished or destroyed, provoked a rupture by incessant depredations on the cattle and followers of the British camp : nay, so determined were they to cut off all chance of pacification, that, suspecting the regency of a design to accept of terms, they placed the *dewan*, Gunput Row, in confinement, and put Toolsay Bhye to death ; when, as sir John Malcolm observes, 'not a foot stirred, not a voice was raised, to save a woman, who had never shown mercy to others.'

On the day when this event took place, our troops advanced within ten miles of Holkar's camp, on the banks of the Seeptra, where in a tumultuous council it was determined to hazard an engagement : all skirmishing and partial conflicts being avoided on both sides, a battle ensued, which ended in the total rout of the Patan and Mahratta armies, which lost about 3000 men ; while their conquerors had 174 killed, and 604 wounded, of whom thirty-eight were European officers. The main body of the enemy then fled to Mundissor, where submission alone saved them from destruction ; and the mother of Mullar Row, Keissurah Bhye, now head of the Holkar state, placed her son and his interests in the hands of the English ; from whom, after his claims on Rajpootana and Jyepoor had been abandoned, he received a guarantee for his family possessions : a *vakeel* from Holkar was to reside at Calcutta, and a resident envoy to be settled at his court. As soon as this treaty was signed, the

Mahratta horse under Ram Deen hastened to join Bajee Row at Kopergaum ; but the remains of their defeated infantry were met and routed with great slaughter in January by general Browne.

Notwithstanding this overthrow of Holkar's power, some of Sindia's officers still showed a disposition to support the Pindarries ; and it was found necessary to send a division against Jeswunt Rao Bhow at Jawud ; which town being taken, his troops were destroyed ; while the three forts of Kumulnere, Ryepoor, and Ramnagur were reduced by general Donkin about the middle of February. Cheetoo withdrew from the force of Jeswunt, and went off to the north-west ; but his men were cut up by the Gujerat division ; and an immense number of stragglers were destroyed by the villagers and the Bheels, who spared none that fell into their hands. Cheetoo himself escaped, and passed through a variety of adventures ; until at last he disappeared, and was not heard of for some days : after that time, however, his horse was discovered, grazing near the jungles of Asseergurh, saddled and bridled : a search being then made, a bag was discovered, containing rupees and other valuables, as well as several letters from Appa Sahib, engaging his services and promising great rewards : at no great distance lay a portion of his garments clotted with blood, together, with some of his mangled limbs, and his head ; doubtless the relics of a tiger's feast.

The Pindarries, dispersed abroad, and deprived of their leaders, were not much heard of afterwards ; though flying parties continued to infest the Deccan, until the war with the peishwah terminated : eventually, they mingled with the rest of the population, becoming very active and industrious as cultivators of the soil. Many of the Patans, being taken into our service, proved themselves excellent and faithful soldiers : all the states, except Saugur, accepted terms offered by the governor-general ; while the cessions made by Sindia enabled him to reward the rajah of Boondee, and the excellent young nabob of Bhopaul, for their services. Sir John Malcolm, remaining as political agent for central India, contributed by his active exertions and conciliatory conduct to introduce and promote the blessings of peace and good order, in a country where they had been long unknown.

Soon after the surrender of Nagpoor, general Doveton, deceived by the appearance of tranquillity, advanced to co-operate with sir Thomas Hislop ; but no sooner was Appa Sahib reinstated in power, than he renewed his intrigues, en-

couraged freebooters, and, applying to Bajee Row for aid, sent secret directions to his agents, that they should resist his own orders for surrender: the resident, however, having obtained clear proof of this treachery, arrested him on the fifteenth of March, 1818; while the troops of Bajee Row, advancing to his assistance, were met and driven back by colonel Scott. Appa Sahib was then sent off, in pursuance of instructions from head-quarters, to the place of his intended confinement at Allahabad; but having corrupted some of his guards, he escaped to the Mahadeo hills, and formed a rallying point for disaffected or broken troops in all parts of the country: having eluded pursuit, he succeeded in gaining the fortress of Asseerghur; and when that fell in 1819, he again made his escape to the Seik country; but all his offers of submission being despised by the British government, he at length sunk into utter insignificance.

In the mean time, the peishwah, Bajee Row, having despatched a party to bring to his camp the rajah of Satarah, nominal head of the Mahratta empire, and being joined by Trimbukjee with a strong detachment, marched southward, giving out that he intended to attack Poonah: on this intelligence, colonel Barr, who commanded there, sent off an express to our encampment at Seroor for reinforcements; when a battalion was ordered to march, consisting of 500 rank and file, with two six-pounders manned by Europeans, and accompanied by 300 irregular horse; the whole under the command of captain Staunton: next morning, about ten o'clock, these troops reached some high ground overlooking the village of Koreigaum on the Bhema, whence the whole of the peishwah's army, 20,000 foot and 8000 horse, was seen encamped on the opposite side of the river: fortunately, a road to the village, which lay on the left bank, was unoccupied by the enemy, and captain Staunton pushed on for the walls of Koreigaum: the Mahrattas, perceiving this intention, detached three corps of 1000 Arabs each, the best soldiers in their service, under cover of artillery, and supported by large bodies of horse, to intercept him; and both parties succeeded in occupying a portion of the village: thus situated, the British had nothing but destruction to expect, cut off, as they were, from the water, and exposed to a burning sun, after a long night's march, without any subsequent repose: resistance however of the most determined kind was made; every foot of ground was disputed; several streets were taken and retaken; and repeated attacks of the Arabs were repulsed by the bayonet: many of our officers

had now fallen; the sufferings of the wounded were dreadful, and the survivors who continued the conflict became almost frantic for want of water: in this case, some of the artillerymen wished to surrender, if terms could be obtained; but captain Staunton resolutely opposed himself to their request. Lieutenant Chisholm, their officer, being killed, the enemy rushed on one of the guns and took it; when lieutenant Patterson, adjutant of the battalion, a very powerful man, who lay mortally wounded, hearing that the gun was seized, started up, and calling on the grenadiers once more to follow him, rushed into the midst of the Arabs, striking them down with a musket on all sides, until a second ball totally disabled him: the sepoys thus nobly encouraged, were irresistible; and the gun, being at length retaken, was brought off from piles of Arabs who lay dead around it: the situation of our troops, however, towards evening became quite hopeless; but as night advanced the fury of the attack relaxed, and a supply of water was procured: at nine, the village was evacuated by the enemy; and at day-break, the peishwah's army was descried moving off on the Poonah road, having received intelligence of general Smith's approach: captain Staunton, however, not aware of this relief, and supposing that the enemy was lying in wait for him, as indeed was the case, gave out that he was about to march on Poonah: as soon as it was dark, he started in that direction, and then changing his route, retreated on Seroor, which he reached next morning, with his guns and wounded men. Of twenty-six artillerymen, twelve were killed and eight wounded; of the native infantry, fifty were killed and 105 wounded; and ninety-six of the cavalry were put *hors de combat*: of eight European officers, three were killed and two wounded; while the loss of the enemy was reckoned at near 700 men. To commemorate this gallant exploit, a monument was erected, and inscribed with the names of those that fell: the whole corps, the second battalion of the first Bombay native infantry, were raised to the rank of grenadiers, as their first battalion had been for the defence of Mangalore; while captain Staunton was immediately made honorary aide-de-camp to the marquis of Hastings, and subsequently governor of Ahmednugger.

The peishwah now fled toward the Carnatic, followed by general Pritzler, with the reserve division of the Deccan army: on his arrival at the Gutpurbe, he was surprised to find the country raised against him; turning therefore suddenly round, he avoided general Pritzler, recrossed the Krishna, and de-

scended the Salpée Ghaut, in the direction of Sholapoor. Generals Smith and Pritzler then united their forces, and proceeded to Satarah; where, having quickly reduced the place, they hoisted the *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of Sevajee; while Mr. Elphinstone issued a manifesto, setting forth to the Mahrattas the reasons which led the British government to deprive the peishwah of all public authority, and to take possession of his territory; the whole of which was thenceforward to be under the company, except a small tract reserved for the rajah of Satarah, the head of the nation: this prince was now restored, not only to be a counterpoise to the influence of the Brahmins, but to conciliate the Mahrattas, that an opening might thus be made for their employment in our service. A new distribution of the British forces then took place; one division, under Pritzler, advancing to attack the hill forts south of Poonah, while Smith set out in pursuit of Bajee Row, with whom he came up, on the road to Ashta, the twentieth of February, with his cavalry and artillery, just as the Mahrattas were moving off their ground: the peishwah sent a taunting message to Gokla, as having suffered the army to be surprised; but the latter replied, that he would guard the rear, or lose his life: the cowardly tyrant then quitted his palanquin; and, mounting a fleet horse, thought only of his own safety, leaving with Gokla about 10,000 cavalry to cover his retreat. The ground of the Mahrattas was chosen with judgment, and the battle was fought with great fury: general Smith was cut down in a skilful charge made by Gokla; but major Dawes, with the reserve of the twenty-second, bravely attacked that chieftain, who fell on the field; when the whole body of Mahrattas took to flight: they were pursued ten miles, and the booty which fell into our hands was immense; but the most important result was the liberation of the rajah of Satarah, with his mother and two brothers, who voluntarily placed themselves under British protection.

The Mahrattas now began to think their cause, and that of the peishwah, desperate: great numbers dispersed; and general Smith, having escorted the rajah to his ancient throne amid the acclamations of all ranks, again set out in pursuit of his enemy.

The contest with Bajee Row, who had been joined by Ram Deen, a partisan of the Holkar family, was some time longer protracted; but in all his marches, whatever their direction might be, he found himself opposed to British divisions. On the fifth of May, as he was advancing toward Sindwa, intend-

ing to cross the Nerbuddah, he found that sir John Malcolm had made such preparations to intercept him, that escape was impossible: he had often sent overtures for negotiation, but unconditional surrender had been always required: his force, however, still amounted to 5000 horse and 4000 foot, of which half were Arabs; and being at length admitted to a conference by sir John, a treaty was concluded; when he agreed to renounce for ever all sovereignty in the Deccan, to which he was never to return; also to separate himself from Ram Deen, as well as all other proscribed rebels and Pindarries, on condition of receiving safe escort, and an annual allowance of eight lacs of rupees: although these terms were considered by the governor-general as verging on extreme liberality, he did not hesitate to ratify them; and Bajee Row was conveyed to Beithoor, as his future place of residence: Trimbukjee escaped for a time, and attempted to procure adherents: but his retreat being discovered, he was apprehended by a party of horse, and sent prisoner to the fortress of Chunar on the Ganges. In the mean time, the rajah of Satarah was installed with great pomp; after which, he publicly announced his connection with our government, and the arrangements made for a British resident at his court: in the course of this summer, all the insurgent bands were dispersed or subdued; their hill fortresses were taken; and the predatory system, which had long been converting this garden of the world into a wilderness, being now intirely overthrown, the governor-general hesitated not to proclaim that supremacy which indisputably belonged to Great Britain, from Indus to the Ganges: such also was the change of public opinion in England, that, according to the observation of sir John Malcolm, 'not a voice was raised against a measure, the very contemplation of which, a few years before, had been denounced as a dream of ambition.'

Thus, after so many centuries of uninterrupted war and anarchy, a degree of security and repose was restored to this magnificent empire, which at no former period did it ever possess: nor were the blessings of peace and security the only objects of lord Hastings' wise and beneficent administration: to rouse the public mind from the lethargy of ages, to cultivate its moral faculties, and to introduce the word of life into realms which had been so long abandoned to the grossest system of idolatry, was the grand aim of this enlightened nobleman: the venerable societies in England for the promotion of moral and religious knowlege, had often expressed great anxiety for the advance of education among our Eastern subjects; but the

first instance on record, in which the instruction of the common people became an open and avowed object with any Indian government, was the grant made by lord Hastings to the Bengalese schools at Chinsurah, established by Mr. Robert May, in 1814; and the success of this experiment fully justified the enlightened policy by which it was dictated. In 1816, the Serampore institution for native schools was formed; and the 'Hints' were published, which led to a general patronage of such seminaries throughout the presidency: the School-Book Society was next year established by the illustrious consort of the governor-general, which contributed to awaken that spirit of benevolent emulation, which led to the promotion of the Calcutta School Society. To both these associations the government assigned a monthly contribution of 500 rupees.

None of these institutions were formed with a view of imparting to the natives a knowledge of christianity; but under the auspices of bishop Middleton, the Calcutta Diocesan Committee arose, in 1818, which fearlessly avowed its grand object;—the gradual conversion of those myriads under British rule, to whom the Gospel is unknown, by the process of christian education;—for, according to the authority of that excellent prelate, not the remotest danger was to be apprehended from such a measure, if the persuasive method was strictly adopted. In the preceding year, the Auxiliary Church Missionary, and the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Societies had been set on foot; while a third institution of this kind was founded, in April, 1818, under the name of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society. In 1820, the first stone was laid of Bishop's College, the design of which was to provide a body of clergy, trained up, not in theology alone, but in a knowledge of the principal languages of India; that so they might be duly qualified to diffuse saving knowledge among their heathen brethren. In July, 1823, it was determined by the governor in council to constitute a general committee of public instruction, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of education in Bengal, and of the institutions designed for its promotion: he also announced his resolution to appropriate the annual sum of one lac of rupees to the general purposes of public education. These spirited and benevolent measures were followed up by a series of other admirable institutions; among which, the Ladies' Native Female Education Society deserves to be honorably mentioned; for before this, no instance was known of an Indian girl having been instructed in the commonest branches of education: the authority of bishop Heber fully confirmed

the prediction of his great predecessor, when he observed, that 'there was not even a semblance of opposition to the efforts making to enlighten the Hindoos : ' so that not only has the reproach of selfish apathy, so long adhering to the British name in India, been wiped away, but a noble and imperishable monument of christian charity has been reared, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, seems destined to last through all ages. The wise and good, and therefore truly great Hastings, whose fostering hand contributed so largely to rear that monument, descended from his high station, and returned to England in 1823, after an administration of nine years ; at the end of which, the company's annual revenue, augmented as it had been by four *crores* of rupees, was still on the increase : but the noblest feature of his government was its beneficent aspect on the intellectual and moral condition of the people : in all respects, it may be regarded as a new and auspicious era to the millions of British India ; as the key-stone of that fabric, which Clive and Wellesley contributed to raise.

We must now revert to the affairs of our own island. During the long struggles of war, all seemed prosperous, all employed ; commerce found new channels, agriculture new products, manufactures a new impulse ; in short, our resources grew from our very exigences ; and the greater the pressure, the higher we seemed to rise : but it was at length discovered, that such pressure had strained the machine : and that affairs had for some time past been in a very unnatural state : this, among other things, had given rise to great inequalities of condition : the rich were become richer, the poor poorer ; and hundreds had gained, while thousands lost. During the time intervening between the last statistical period of which we treated, and the end of the war, the borrowing, taxing, and paper-money schemes, having been carried to their utmost extent, had produced their most important effects : so great indeed was the display of national resources, and so reckless the expenditure of wealth, that it becomes interesting to consider a little more fully the extent and consequences of this whole system.

The sum expended by government, from the year 1809 to 1815, both inclusive, was, in the currency of the time, £630,789,973 ; being an average annual expenditure of £90,112,853 : if to this be added £7,000,000 a year for the expense of collecting the taxes, we have a total of £679,789,073 ; and as a large portion was borrowed, the national debt at the end of this period amounted to £864,822,441, requiring the

enormous sum of £41,225,257 to pay its interest. The ministers, however, of those days, extravagant as they were, are not to be charged with the expenditure of so large an amount of money in a currency of full value; for in comparing different periods, we must make allowance for the depreciation caused by excessive issues of paper: this depreciation, as measured by the market price of gold, and taken on an average of seven years, was about twenty per cent.: during the above period, the population of England had advanced to more than 13,000,000;⁵ and the number of enclosure bills passed from 1809 to 1814, both inclusive, amounted to 704: the official value of goods exported, above colonial produce re-exported, gave a yearly average of £31,600,320; and when the annual average of the six preceding years, estimated at £25,074,400 is considered, and the superior economy of labor in the production of exports in the latter, as compared with the former period, the increase in the quantity of labor required to produce the whole of the exports, and consequently to purchase all the imports, was not considerable: thus the benefit arising from the increase of manufacturing power was almost exclusively obtained by this country; for the articles exported, though generally produced with less labor, sold for almost equal prices in the foreign market; and their exporters were enabled to bring back a supply of foreign commodities most in demand here, in return for what had cost but little: the supply of imports would have been still greater, but for the large foreign war expenditure by government, much of which rested on the exports, and absorbed a considerable portion of them. The bills drawn and paid by British agents, for supplies to our fleets and armies, were received by exporters in payments for their goods: the subsidies also to foreign powers were really furnished in the same manner: those powers drew bills on our government, which were sold in commercial marts, to persons who employed them in the purchase of our goods; which goods, in fact, supported armaments, and paid allies in the formidable struggle: the bills were finally paid in money, by the British government to the British producer, with the sums raised from the people by taxes and loans.

The high price of grain during this period would probably have caused considerable imports of that article from foreign countries, had not the war prevented it, by increasing the cost of freightage for bulky commodities, as well as creating a

⁵ By the census of 1811 it was 12,609,864.

large demand for it in countries occupied by our armies. In no year, from 1809 to 1814 inclusive, were 2,000,000 of quarters imported; and in 1812, when wheat had reached its highest price of 125s. 6*d.* a quarter, only 535,733 quarters of foreign corn were imported into Great Britain. Before the end of this period reduction in the value of money had produced its full effect on all fixed annuities; the payers of which, who may generally be considered as persons engaged in active employment of some kind, were benefited in proportion as the receivers lost: this reduction was a relief to producers, and enabled them better to bear the burdens arising from loans and taxes. All lands to be re-let were sought with an avidity which in itself caused a farther increase of rent, and inflicted no slight evil on the productive classes; for the very high profits of the farmer were temporary, and could not long continue above those of other capitalists: yet for the purpose of participating in those profits, farmers gave, and established, a rate of rent, which soon disabled them from paying competent wages to their laborers, and obtaining, at the same time, moderate profits for themselves. At the end of 1815, the land in cultivation was computed at 40,000,000 of acres; which, at an average of one pound per acre, would give a total rental of £40,000,000 in current money, being an advance above the supposed rental in 1793 of £22,000,000. The reduction of the value of money at the time prevented the burden of this from being heavily felt; but the increase of rent being established, while the value of the currency was subsequently raised, gave rise to much and severe distress: as the high price of landed produce was very beneficial to those who received tithes in kind, the clergy in general considered this a prosperous period; but as they are accustomed generally to spend their incomes, and not to accumulate capital, to be used like that of the farmer, the wealth furnished to them, in the form of tithes, was so much abstracted from the productive classes.

The rate of profit during the latter part of the war continued high, as may be concluded from the prices of the three per cent. consols:⁶ capitalists also gained a great advantage by the loans being made in three per cent. stock, which the government engaged not to pay off, except at the full price of £100 money for £100 stock: the holder of such stock, therefore, had the benefit of every possible rise which might take place from the current price at the time of purchase, till it advanced

⁶ The average price of these were; in 1809, 68½; in 1810, 67¾; in 1811, 63½; in 1812 and 1813, 59; in 1814, 66½.

to £100. A nadvantage, to a certain limited extent, resulted from the substitution of paper-money for gold : the issue of the paper drove out the gold, which was expended either in paying for imports, or defraying the foreign expenditure of the government : thus about £20,000,000 were liberated from their employment as currency, and made available for purposes of national expenditure, by which the country was so far assisted at the time : the necessity, however, of paying interest to a separate class of paper-money makers for a supply of circulating medium, was a slight counteracting effect. From a general view of the whole system, it may be said, that very unfavorable results were produced on the condition of the people, during this period, by increased taxation, heavy loans, high profits, advanced rents and tithes, together with a constant conversion of primary into secondary producers ; while these disadvantages were to a certain degree counterbalanced, though not fully, by an increase of population and productive power ; by a reduction in the value of annuities ; by exports of corn and cheaply-produced articles of exportation. But whatever may have been the increase in the aggregate productive power of primary laborers, such increase, added to that in their numbers, was not sufficient to counteract effects of the abstraction of such quantities of wealth from them as were actually taken : their situation, therefore, became deteriorated, as was apparent in the condition of the poorer classes generally, but especially in that of agricultural laborers : evidence of this is seen in the increase of rates which were found necessary for their relief : about the year 1793, the sum raised annually for that purpose was only £2,167,748 ; but in 1812 it amounted to £8,640,842 ; which, if it be taken in a currency reduced in value fifty per cent., will be more than double the amount of the former. The decline, however, in the condition of the laborers was not experienced alike by all classes : as net wealth increased, those whose business it was to modify it, and provide objects of luxury for its opulent owners, would find, for a time, an increased demand for their labor, until competition brought down their remuneration to the general reduced rate : those also who labored to produce articles of exportation by improved modes of production, had their wages, for a time, either actually raised, or kept above the limit to which they would otherwise have sunk.

Just before the termination of the war, there seems to have been a crisis in the internal condition of the country ; when so many alterations were taking place, and so many causes in

operation, that it becomes difficult to trace their separate workings: the great profits of agricultural capitalists had caused them to bring large quantities of inferior land into cultivation, and to expend much of their profits in forcing its produce: in 1813, the effects of these proceedings began to appear in a decline of the price of grain, much beyond that of other commodities: this continued through the two following years; a natural result of high profits, producing over production. It was supposed that the opening of the markets in the north of Europe tended to cause this fall in 1814 and 1815; but the tables show, that during these two and the next year, the whole quantity of wheat, barley, and oats, imported beyond that exported, only amounted to 760,065 quarters; a quantity incapable of producing any perceptible effect on our markets: other causes however operated to produce this depreciation.

During the three years of 1813, 1814, and 1815, the Bank of England notes in circulation were, in round numbers, respectively £24,000,000, £29,000,000, and £27,000,000; and supposing the circulating medium to have been about £60,000,000, a great part of this enormous currency must have consisted of country bank notes: these had been issued by bankers, to a great extent, for the accommodation of farming capitalists, who obtained ample credit, owing to the high prices of their produce: but when, in 1813, abundance began to lower these prices,⁷ the more cautious bankers felt alarm, and credit could not be so easily procured: hence a diminution in the amount of country bank notes took place;⁸ and this, by accelerating the fall of prices, naturally increased alarm, and tended still farther to diminish this species of currency: hence all the agricultural classes became similarly affected, while the whole amount of currency was reduced; and not only the prices of landed produce, but also of bullion, would naturally fall: as this fall proved ruinous to a considerable number of farmers, and produced a general want of confidence, such a destruction of provincial paper ensued as rarely has been paralleled; for no fewer than 240 country banks stopped payment during the years 1814, 1815, and 1816. In 1815, the price of wheat having fallen to about ten shillings a bushel, landlords as well as tenants became alarmed; and

⁷ At Michaelmas this year, wheat fell to thirteen shillings a bushel; and at Lady Day, 1814, to ten shillings and ninepence.

⁸ In 1815, near £3,000,000 were abstracted from the amount of the preceding year; and in 1816, £4,000,000 more: this received a little increase in 1817.

imagining that the low prices of grain arose from foreign competition, they determined to procure a corn-law for their protection: this bill prohibited the introduction of foreign wheat into Great Britain till the price should rise to eighty shillings a quarter; and protected all other grain in a similar manner: but though it had an effect in preventing a rapid fall, the discovery was soon made that it did not raise prices as its promoters expected: it was necessary that the superabundant supply should be lessened before a rise could take place. This fall in the price of grain operated for a time in favor of the laboring population; for as the price of labor does not rise regularly with that of food, so it does not fall with it, although it is generally much quicker in decline than increase: but in 1816, the reduced means of farmers obliged them to refuse employment very extensively to their laborers; consequently, the condition of the latter became deteriorated; as appears from the amount of poor-rates, which exceeded those of the preceding year by near £1,200,000; and even those of 1812, when wheat was 125 shillings a quarter, by more than £262,000. Thus laborers suffered from the existing system, through a reduction of real wages; while farmers began to experience the consequences of measures, which, by giving sometimes double or triple profits, stimulated them to an extension of production: this brought down prices from the high rate to which they had attained, partly through country bank notes; the withdrawal of which, on a decline of price, pushed it down still farther than it would have ordinarily gone.

The manufacturing classes, toward the end of the period of which we have been treating, were somewhat differently affected: a great abundance, and consequent cheapness of agricultural produce, naturally gave them a temporary advantage: but in addition to this source of prosperity, the opening of new markets on the continent, through the discomfiture of our enemies, caused so great a demand for British goods, that the price of weaving a piece of calico, which in 1811 was five shillings and sixpence, rose in 1814 to ten shillings: this however was principally the effect of speculation. In the autumn of that same year, it was discovered that the high prices of labor could not be sustained; and in 1816 they declined to about one half.

The great advance which took place in the income of net receivers, and the corresponding increase of their numbers, had a very conspicuous effect on the external features of

the country, as well as its institutions: this was nowhere more perceptible than in the places which those persons selected for their residence, such as Brighton and Cheltenham, which rose rapidly in splendor and population; hence also a vast increase in those noble seats with which every part of the land is decorated, and innumerable mansions in the environs of our cities; which, if the epithet magnificent be denied them, combine elegance and convenience to a degree which is seen nowhere else under the sun. To the same source may be referred numerous works of public utility, such as superb bridges thrown across the Thames and other rivers, docks of enormous magnitude, aqueducts, and canals; scientific associations, from which discoveries emanated, imparting unexpected comforts to society, together with a new impulse to the human intellect; hospitals, medical schools, and other institutions, calculated to relieve misery to an extent hitherto unknown; also literary societies, which opened the gates of knowledge to thousands, against whose ingress they had previously been barred: without dwelling on those stars of literature which are destined to shine through all ages, we may observe, that improvements in education, accelerated by the modified processes of Bell and Lancaster, diffused their blessings so extensively among the lower classes of society, that the wish expressed by our venerable monarch, that every cottager in his realm could read the Bible, seemed likely to be realised. Great also was the increase of moral and religious establishments, by which the light of Gospel truth was cherished at home; while it was spread abroad by men, who traversed the most distant regions, not to kindle enthusiasm amid the ruins of ancient magnificence, but to repair the holier ruins of human nature. Nor were the fine arts neglected in this grand development of man's energies: the British school of painting, under the auspices of West and Lawrence, Turner, Calcot, Wilkie, and others of great note, became the first in Europe; and though sculpture did not keep pace with her sister art, this was not for want of due encouragement, or examples of heroic valor to be commemorated by the chisel; yet even here, the classic dignity of Flaxman, and the natural grace of Chantry, gave hopes of future excellence. Architecture had in several instances displayed its powers with effect; but preparations were made, during this era, for the establishment of that most useful and decorative science on true principles: the first of many enterprising bands of British youth, from whom a Barry was about to arise, had started in

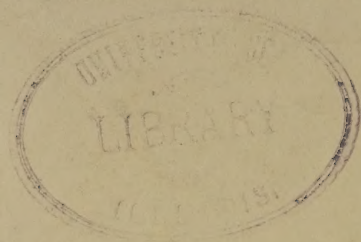
search of architectural excellence at its fountain head; while the remarkable discoveries of Mr. C. R. Cockerell, in Sicily and Greece, were calculated, not only to advance the art in which he is himself so eminent, but to perfect also that of sculpture. Neither were adventurers wanting to explore the antiquities, manners, and products of various nations, precursors of those more determined spirits, which, when the toils of war by sea and land were over, eagerly braved the most pestilential climes and savage regions, to explore new tracts for commerce, and open the broad path of civilisation throughout the world. The subject might be carried out to a vast extent; but it may be thought sufficient to have touched on some of its leading features: it must however be remarked, that this national display of intellectual power was almost independent of government, which, except in a few instances, neither called it forth nor fostered it when produced; and though it may not be wholly attributable to the cause assigned, since many are the generous spirits which are swayed by pure and patriotic motives; yet there can be no doubt, but that an accumulation of wealth, and a desire of employing it, gave an extraordinary impulse to the energies of the age.

Yet though Great Britain issued from the contest, not only possessing claims to the gratitude of other nations, but proud of that magnificence with which the development of her vast resources had invested her, still the day of internal struggle was at hand. Though our prosperity, during the war, seemed to rise with our very exigences and expenditure; yet, when peace arrived, we discovered, as before has been observed, the strain which the machine of civil policy had sustained; and we then perceived those increased inequalities of condition to which the system long pursued had given rise: we had indeed been victorious by sea and land; we had won the race among nations, but it was soon to begin among ourselves. The great advantage possessed by us in the late contest arose from public spirit; which spirit was produced by our glorious constitution: but now that constitution itself was to be convulsed in our transition from a state of war to that of peace; and this could not be effected without great changes of property: an immense number of persons would necessarily be cast on society, whom the long war had brought up dependent on itself alone for support; many would be thrown out of employment by the cessation of particular sources of revenue; great fluctuation would take place in various branches of trade and manufactures; markets would be glutted; competition

among ourselves and foreigners would be carried to a ruinous excess ; whilst a heavy debt and an insecure paper currency pressed with alarming effect on all : it was to be expected that advantage would be taken of this state of things by designing men, to excite discontent and dangerous opposition to established institutions ; while a fear of consequences would naturally lead others to defend the worst abuses connected with our constitution, lest an excision of excrescences might endanger the trunk itself. Though selfishness and other bad passions found ample scope for exercise on both sides, yet there was still left a large stock of good principles in the country ; and the middle-classes in particular, being generally sound at core, steadily resisted the enemies of social order and tranquillity : nor let it be considered presumptuous, if we claim for the church of England its due portion of merit, in checking the progress of those irreligious doctrines that were so studiously disseminated in aid of popular disaffection : perhaps it may not be too much to say, without derogating from the merit of many other religious societies, that the moral habits of the people, and through them the stability of our civil institutions, may be mainly traced to the benign influence diffused throughout the community by its ecclesiastical establishment. If we have undergone, and still sustain, a severe pressure ; if a large portion of our fellow-countrymen have been reduced to want, or goaded on to intemperance and insubordination ; we have still had virtue to resist the wild spirit of disorganisation, while we have rescued the altar of liberty from those who were not sufficiently careful to guard its sacred flame. Higher than ever is our country advanced among nations ; and long may it so remain ! for the day on which it ceases to guide the opinion of Europe, and to be an example for those who are struggling out of the darkness of oppression into the light of freedom, will be an evil day for the whole human race, but more especially for those who desire our ruin.

END OF VOL. XVI.

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